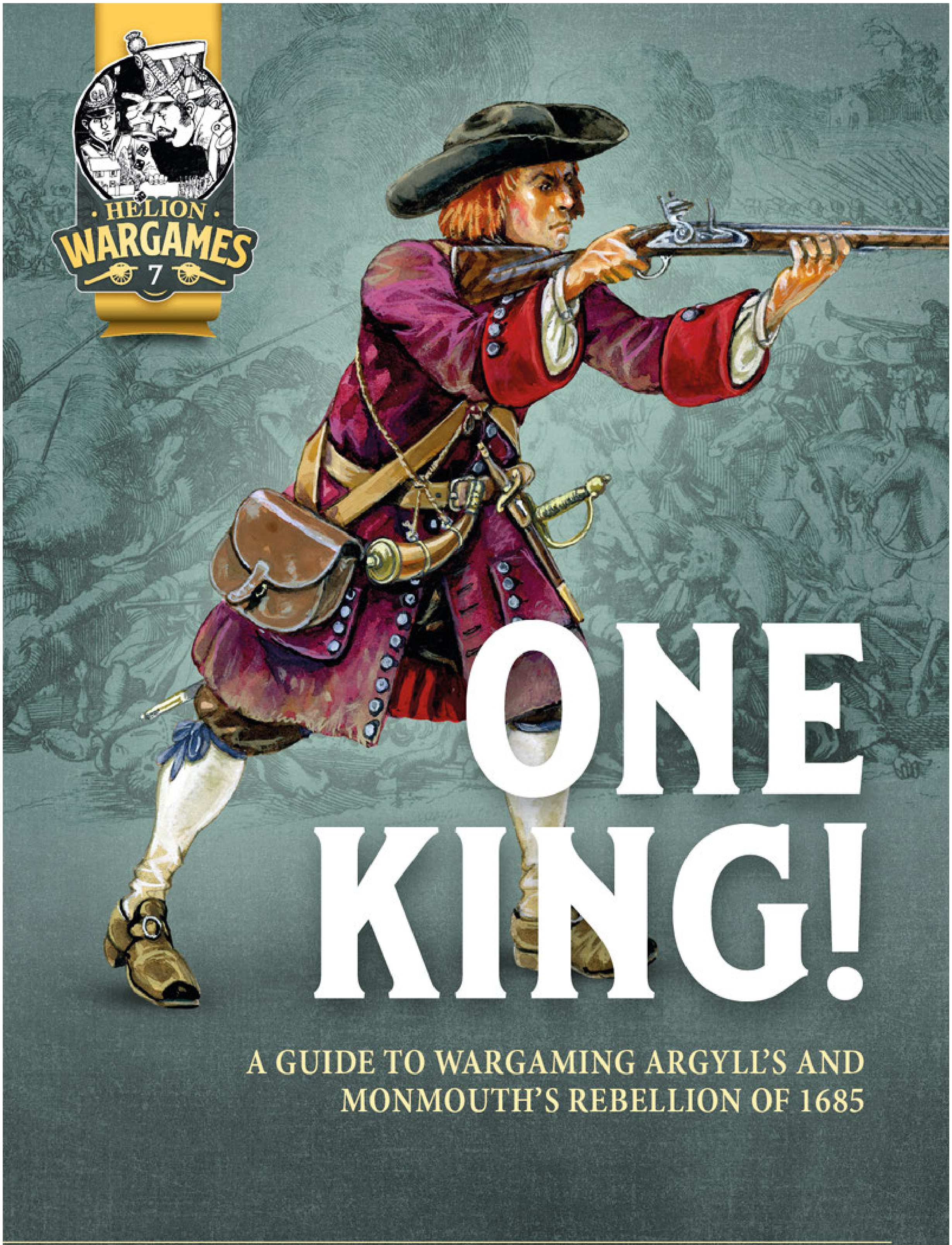
HELION WARGAMES 7

ONE KING!

A GUIDE TO WARGAMING ARGYLL'S AND MONMOUTH'S REBELLION OF 1685

STEPHEN M. CARTER



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HELION & COMPANY

I would like to dedicate this book to the members of Southern Area Sands or the SAS; Barry ‘General’ Upton, Andy ‘Mohawk’ Burbridge, Tony ‘Sarg’ Carter, Andy ‘Mac’ Robertson, Chris ‘Enforcer’ Cunningham, Paul ‘Dingo’ Hayes, and finally the man who flashed the Minifigs catalogue on the school bus Geoff ‘Biffa’ Ketcher. Thank you all.

The Series Editor would like to thank the generous help and support of Barry Hilton, John Pittwood and Mark Shearwood, in the production of this book.

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The Duke of Monmouth's Whig Army takes on Lord Churchill and the vanguard of the Government Army at the Battle of Norton St Philip, 27 June 1685. (From multiple collections)

Preface

This publication started as an extension to Fighting for Liberty, the true story of the Monmouth Rebellion in Scotland and England, but it has evolved to include new research and learning. However, it was the science of warfare during this period that shaped the campaign and I have covered this in some detail to provide a more realistic style of wargame. My aim is to make One King! the perfect companion to the Whig invasions of Britain, by covering every encounter, commander and military formation in England and Scotland.

One King! is more a set of guidelines than rules, so I have warmed up the historical campaign with some interesting 'what ifs' and some basic campaign rules to spice up events, just a little. This should provide everything needed to bring the Monmouth Rebellion to life on the tabletop but also for the military enthusiast to follow in the footsteps of the commanders over a coffee (or beer) and cake.

I would like to thank my ever-patient wife and daughters but also David Gerhard who acted as a sounding board over a curry, plus Alan Larsen and Warwick Louth for plugging some gaps in my knowledge on uniforms and saddle cloths. And finally, a big thank you to Mark Shearwood, Charles Singleton, Alan Larson & Barry Hilton for the loan of the fantastic figures seen in this publication.

One King! was finished on the anniversary of the day when the Scottish Whig Council of War elected Argyll as their general. It is time to recruit, train, equip and paint your armies, to secure the kingdoms for your one true King.

Yours in the cause

Stephen M. Carter

17 April 2022

One King 1685

Objectives of the War

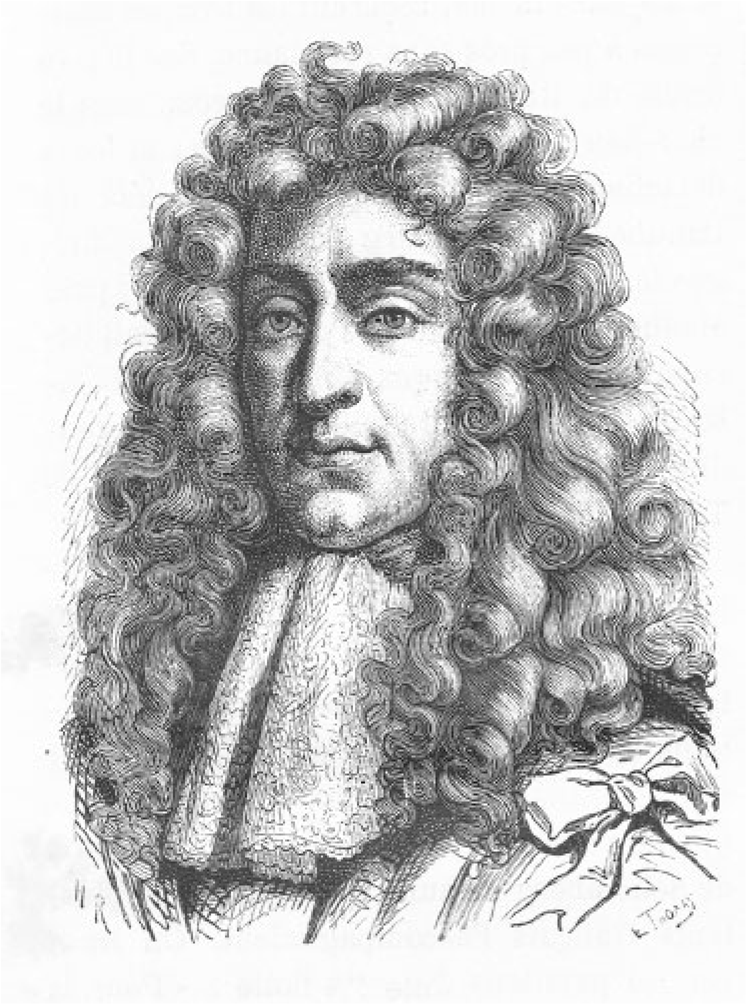
Rather than two separate events, the Monmouth Rebellion and Argyll’s Uprising of 1685 was a coordinated attempt by the Whigs to topple the Government of King James II & VII, the Duke of York, through a military campaign. On one side are the Whigs, on the other the Government. To stand any chance of winning the Whigs needed to transport weapons, equipment and raise two new armies. They then had to defeat the Government armies of Britain and Ireland. Finally, they needed to force the usurper King to abdicate and be replaced by the true King James, the Duke of Monmouth.

For the Whigs this is life or death. There is only room for one King of the Three Kingdoms, one King James, one victor. Will you play it safe as the Government or chance all playing as the Whigs?

The Government Players

After the death of King Charles II on 6 February 1685, the new Government of King James II had expected an immediate uprising in support of his nephew, James Duke of Monmouth. So they initially closed all the ports and called a general election to win a landslide victory with 90 percent behind the new King. But it did not stop there and the new King began moves to get the Whig exiles in Holland removed, especially Monmouth. Going so far as to authorise his forced extradition. However, by the time of the coronation of King James fears in Whitehall had subsided. With no uprising in sight, the Tory government relaxed.

Then in the middle of May these fears were rekindled as spies' reports started to arrive from Holland. They detailed plans for a massive invasion and uprising. King James took notice. Ordering the arrest of every known Whig in the country, he then watched the continental ferries, with every passenger listed and checked. In early May, Mr Craggs and Mr Ireton came to the attention of the officials and were both arrested. The customs officials' search of their papers uncovered encrypted letters from Monmouth. After interrogation both men disclosed enough to point to an invasion in England, but neither knew the critical dates or locations.



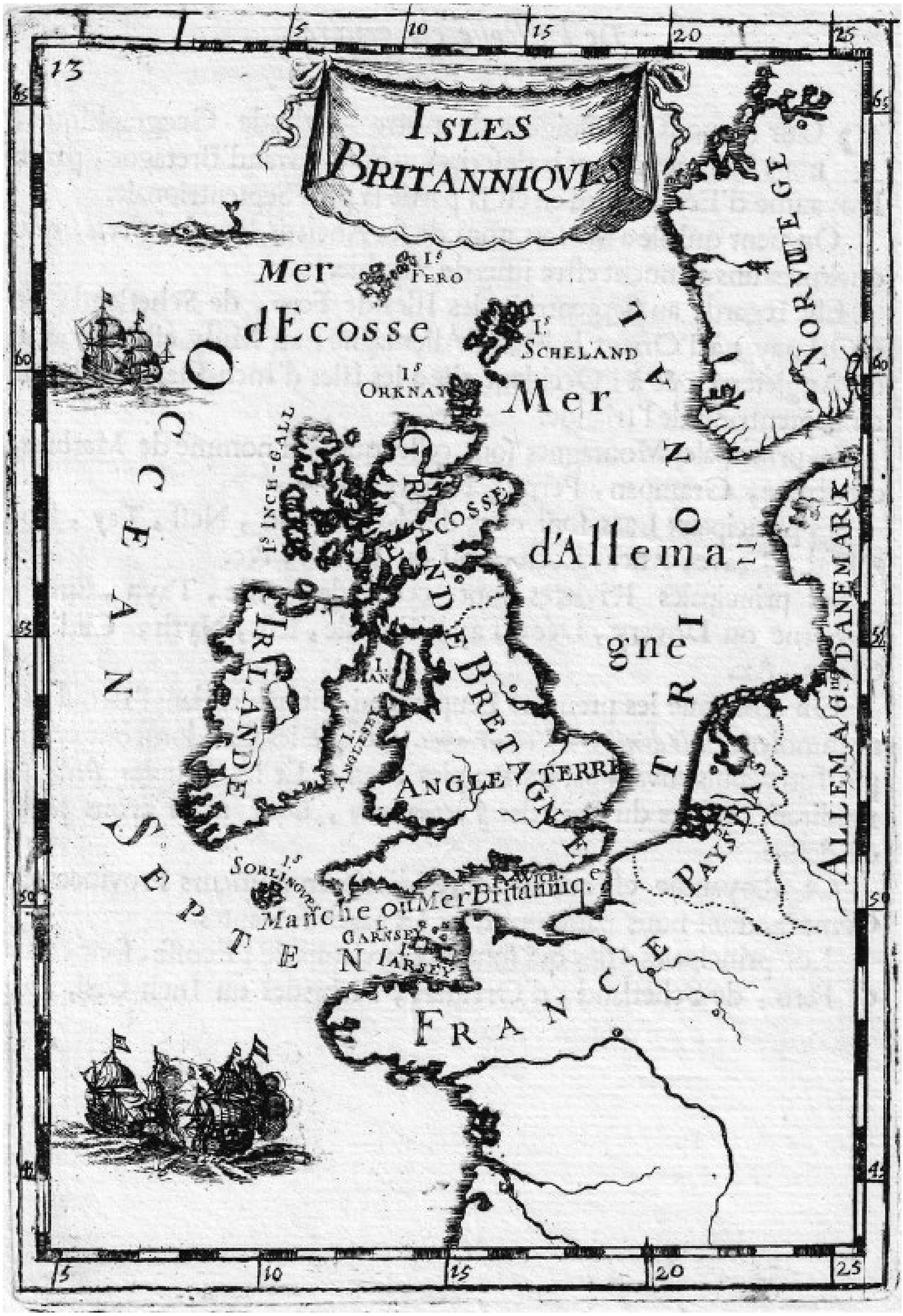
James, Duke of York, the Tory King.

King James had all military forces in England, Scotland and Ireland at his disposal and these were put on standby. The King's forces were composed of the Royal Navy and the regional army establishments, plus volunteers and the loyal Highland clans. Finally, there were two brigades of British infantry in the pay of Holland. The Royal Navy was substantial, with over 100 warships of all types, from yachts to frigates and larger ships of the line. The major naval bases were Portsmouth, Plymouth and Chatham, with a fleet held at readiness off the Sussex coast, called the Downs. From late April, Royal Navy ships took an active part in the campaign against Whigs by patrolling the English Channel and the North Sea, stopping and searching Dutch merchantmen.

In Scotland there were several Highland Watch companies in strongholds dotted across the Whig territories of Western Scotland and the Isles. As these soldiers had been recruited from the enemies of the Whigs, they made the residents of Argyllshire suffer by gathering plunder, settling old feuds, or by creating new ones. During the long, dark winter months, the Watch had been joined by detachments from the Earl of Mar's Regiment and troops from the Scottish Dragoons. In early 1685, a new commission was issued to the Marquis of Atholl to raise 500 more men for the Highland Watch in Inveraray and other key towns.

King James now upped the pressure on his son-in-law William of Orange to stop the Whig fleets sailing. But, if diplomacy was unsuccessful, HMS Saudadoes was ordered to Amsterdam to intercept the enemy ships. This small sixth-rate frigate, commanded by Captain Trevanion was seen cruising off the Dutch coast in the early hours of 1 May 1685.

These ships and soldiers were all that stood between the Whigs and the crowning of a new King James. To win the Government need to stop the landings or destroy the Whigs, but if the Whigs secured strongholds, then the Government would fall, officials would switch sides and the London mob would come looking for the usurper's blood.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ISLES BRITANNIQVES
Mer d'Ecosse
Is FERO
Is SCHELAND
Is ORKNAY
Mer d'Allemagne
OCCEAN SEPTENTRION
NORVEGE
DANEMARK
ALLEMAGNE
PAYS BAS
FRANCE
Is INCH-GALL
ECOSSE
GRANDE BRETAGNE
IRLANDE
I. MAN
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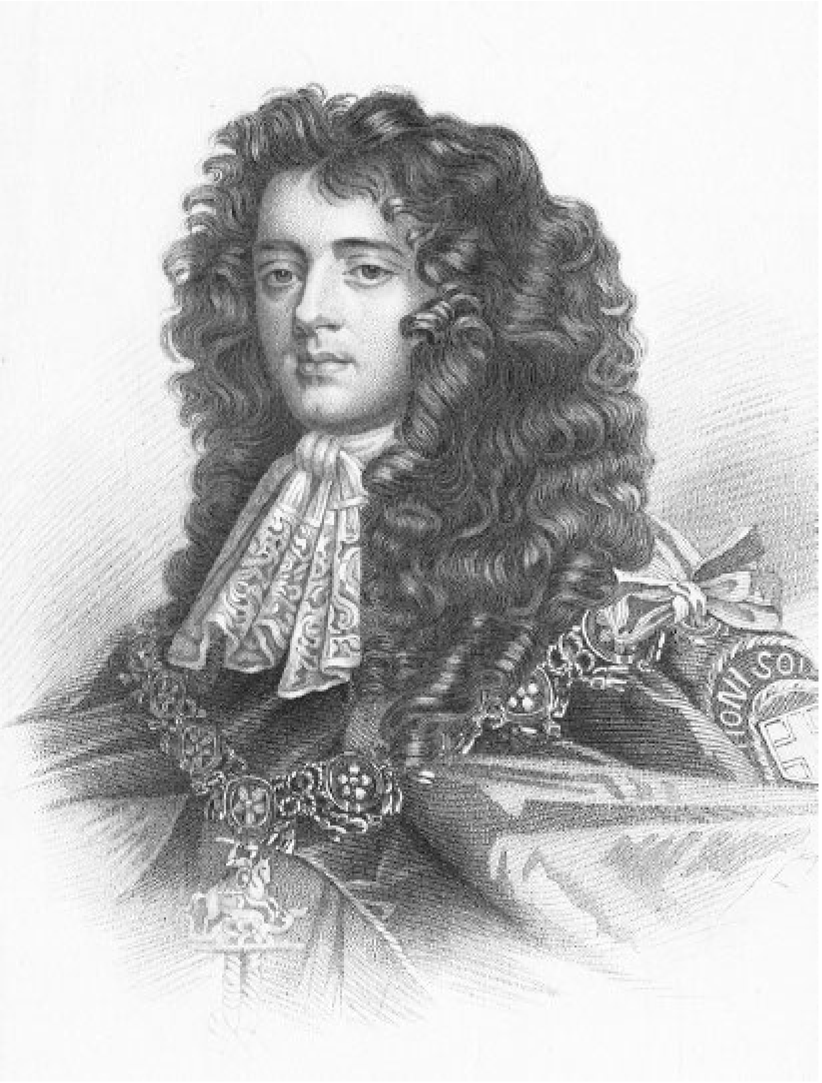
Great Britain & Ireland c.1683.

The Whig Players

The Whigs were a loose alliance that included Presbyterians, Republicans, Puritans, Exclusionists, Scottish Covenanters and those that simply believed James, Duke of Monmouth should be king. What they had in common was opposition to the succession of James, Duke of York, the Catholic brother of King Charles II. The Whigs had been planning to restore the power of parliament and remove the Duke of York from the line of succession since 1683. The original plan was to invade Scotland and England in September 1684, supported by local insurrections in the key Whig strongholds. However, this was postponed until the spring of 1685 due to a government crackdown and a lack of leadership amongst the English Whigs.

Then fate intervened on 6 February 1685 with the death of King Charles II. Once the Whigs had stopped partying, rumours spread that Charles had been murdered and the clamour for the Duke of York to be removed grew. However, the first thing needed was a rekindling of the Whig alliance and a reconciliation of the differences between the English Whig leader, the Duke of Monmouth and Scots leader Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll. By early March, the Whigs finally came together to fight for the greater good and reclaim England and Scotland for the people.



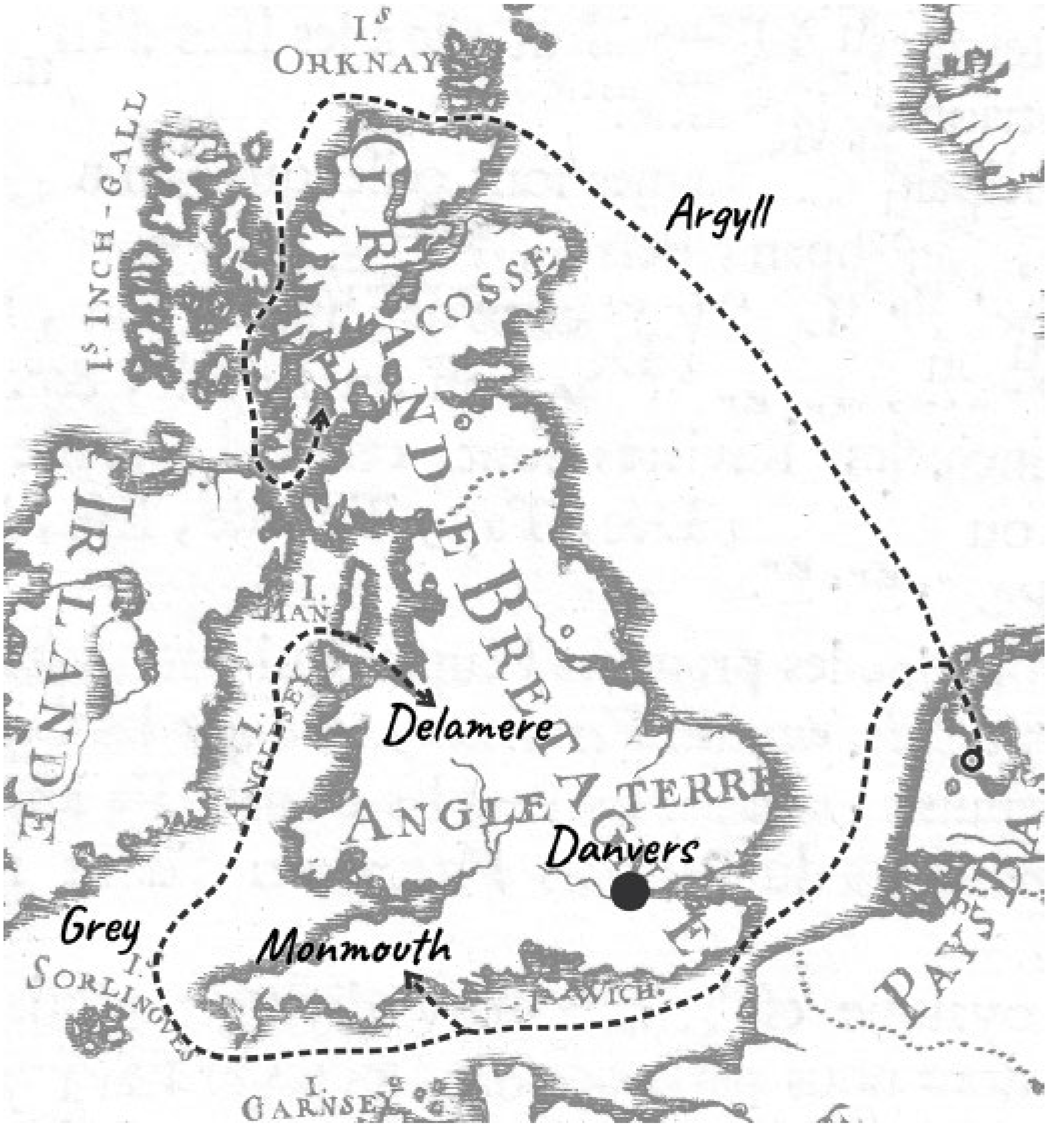
James, Duke of Monmouth, The Whig King.

Both leaders knew their enemy’s strengths and weaknesses and it was this knowledge that shaped the plans and preparations they made in Holland. They also understood the risks that they were undertaking and it was for this reason that they sought to legitimise the project. This was done by formally declaring a ‘just’ war and publishing a proclamation that detailed the causes and objectives of the conflict. Without this, they feared that their opponent, the new King James would refer to and treat their soldiers as rebels.

The plan devised in the back room of Thomas Dare's house in Amsterdam was an extension of the one from 1684. This would be a two-pronged assault, with landings in Scotland and the west of England. These invasions would be supported by uprisings in Cheshire and London. Argyll's objective was to stop the Government's Scottish army from marching south. To do this Argyll was to establish a strong base and sit tight until Monmouth's force had taken London or dislodged the usurper, King James. At the same time, Cheshire would rise pulling Government troops away from the capital reducing the Government forces facing Monmouth when he landed in the west of England. Finally, once the whole royal army was in the field, the Whig mob in London would take to the street, seizing the Tower of London and Parliament. This would force the usurper King to flee, allowing the Whigs to win the war. All they needed to do now was buy all the arms and equipment needed to land, sustain and raise two armies on campaign.

The date for the attack was initially set for the King's coronation day, 23 April. However, this was pushed back to early May to give the English Whigs time to buy enough equipment and recruit more officers. After the first army council meeting on 17 April, Argyll was formally elected as General of the Scottish forces. The plan was ratified and a sub-committee headed by Dr Robert Ferguson was established to write the declaration of war. These plans became more pressing when news from Argyll's homeland arrived that the Highland Watch was arresting supporters, taking livestock and burning crofts. Therefore, when Monmouth told Argyll that the needed another fortnight to prepare his army, the Scottish commander made it clear he would leave at the end of the month. On 28 April, the Scots started loading the transports and the frigate Anna with arms, men and equipment. At the final meeting between members of the Scots council and Monmouth, it was agreed that the England-bound fleet would follow a fortnight later. With this, the

Scots fleet presented passports to the Dutch officials and crossed the Vlie into the North Sea on the evening of 2 May 1685.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Grey
Monmouth
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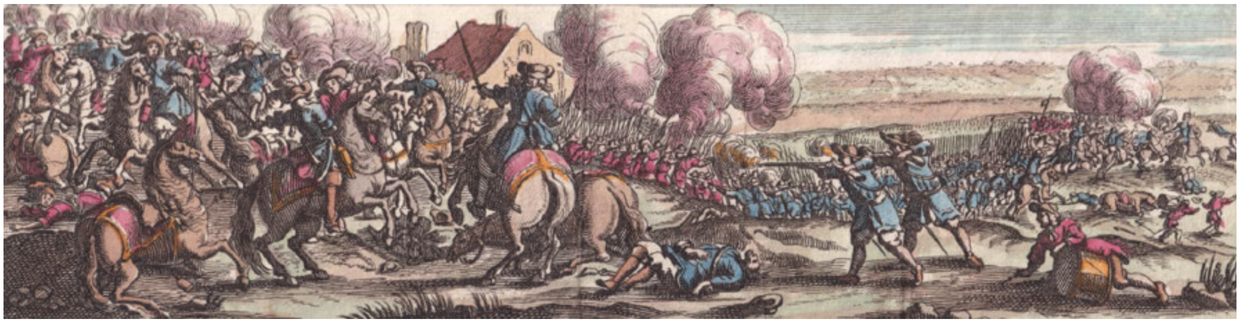
The Whig invasion plan of April 1685.

Warfare in 1685



Conduct of War on Land c.1690.

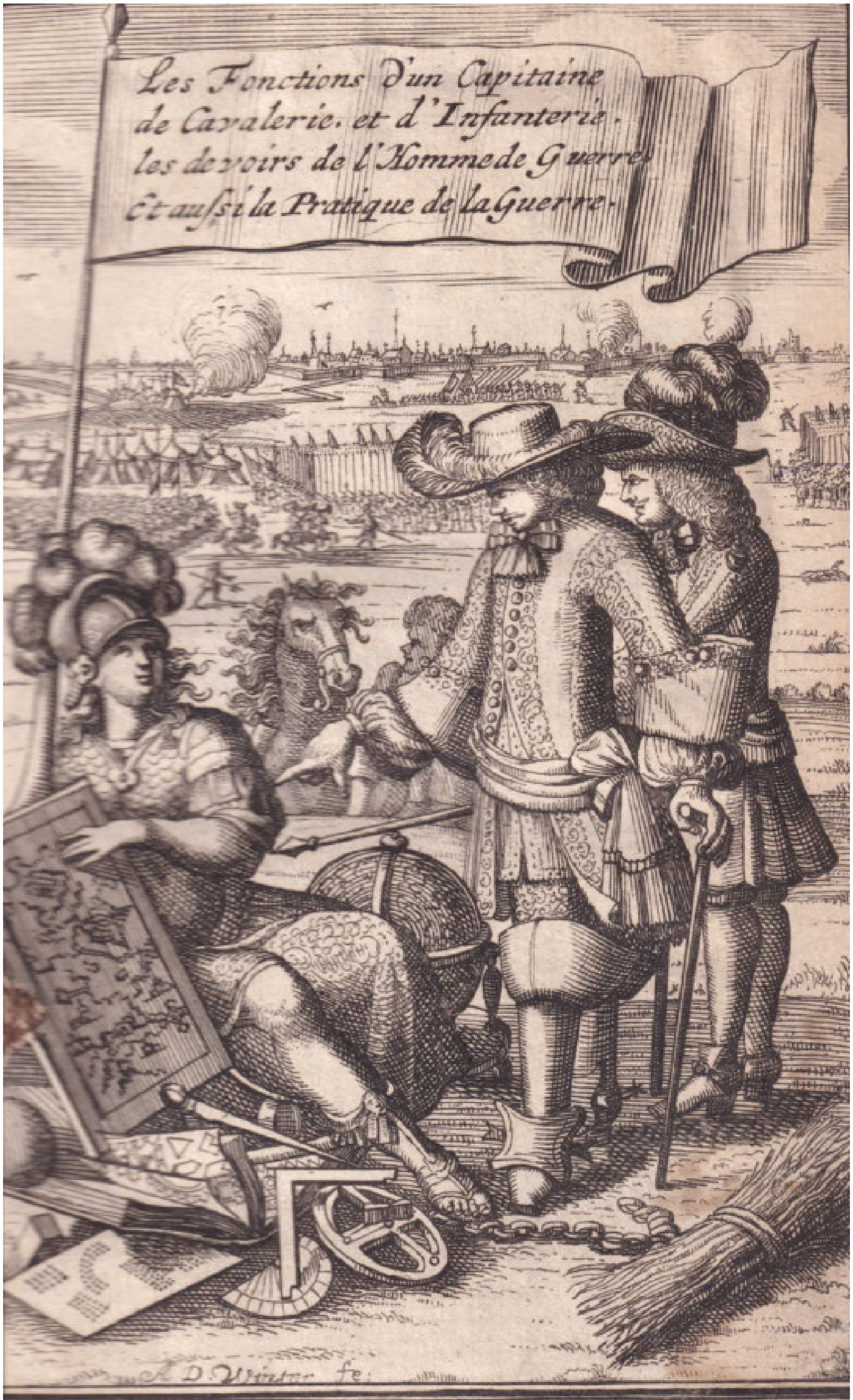
Before launching the Whig fleets or marching militia to the coast, it is important to understand that warfare had evolved since the 1640s. To truly recreate this campaign of 1685 the wargamer must forget the British Civil Wars. Instead, they must learn the Science of Arms from the generals who fought the battles and marched through those muddy lanes. The conduct of war in 1685 followed tried and tested principles devised by the French generals, Henri, Vicomte du Turenne and Louis of Bourbon, Prince de Condé.

All the military commanders who fought in the campaigns had learnt their profession from service in the army of France. They would have observed French military discipline, read French texts and followed the same science of arms. This section details the structure, training and methods of conflict that both sides applied during the campaign, directly from the various French military manuals available in 1685.

Arms of Service

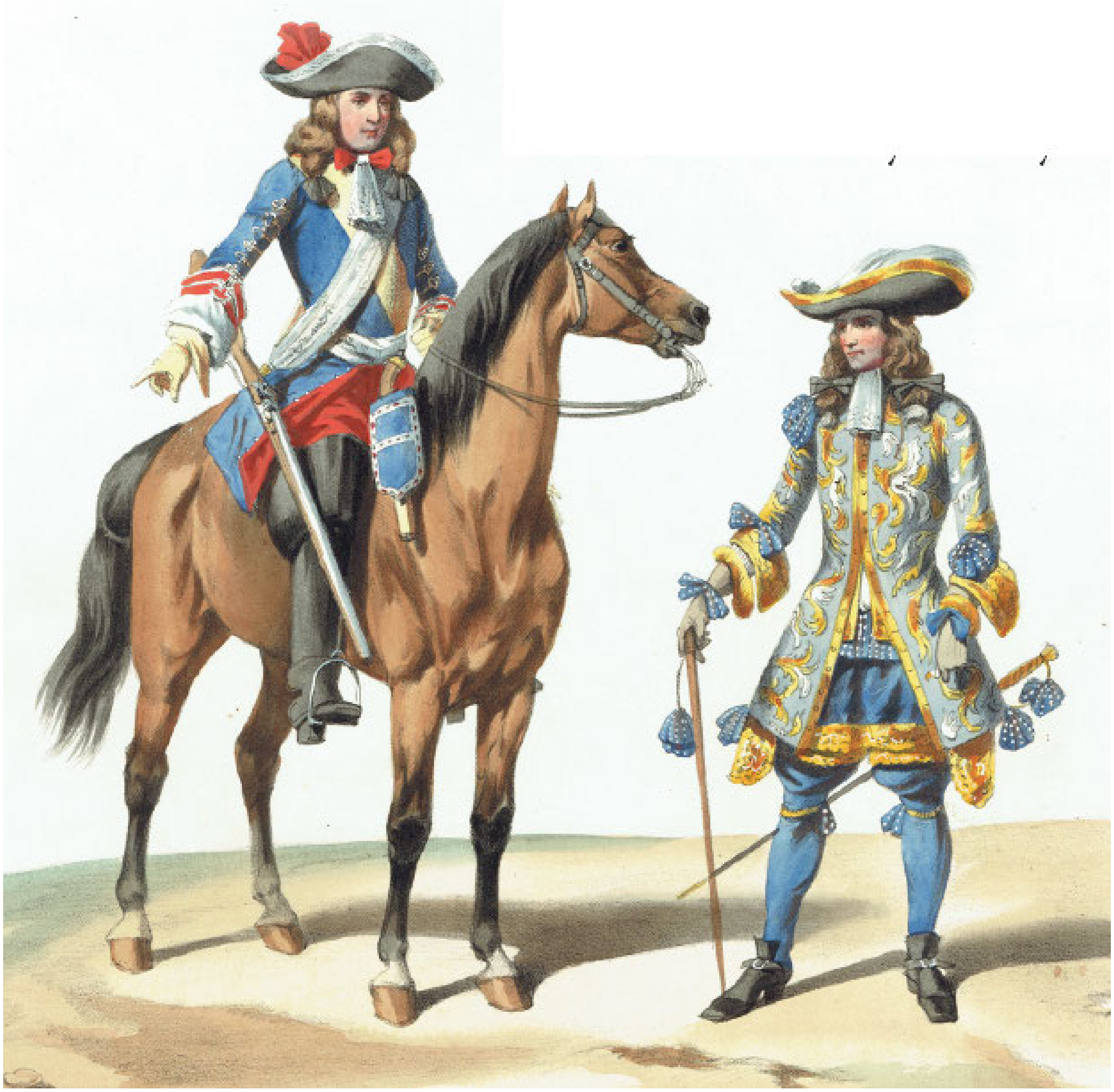
All major armies of the late seventeenth century were composed of units of lifeguards, cavalry, footguards and infantry, dragoons, artillery and a baggage train.

The Gendarmerie or Lifeguards were the personal ordnance companies of the King or the head of state. In times of war the officers from these troops became the senior officers of the army and the colonels of new regiments of infantry or cavalry. However, the bulk would remain on duty with their troops and while on campaign these household troops would act as normal heavy cavalry.


Les Fonctions d'un Capitaine
de Cavalerie, et d'Infanterie.
les devoirs de l'Homme de Guerre.
Et auſsi la Pratique de la Guerre.
A. D. Winter fe.

A LA HAYE,
Chez Henri van Bulderen, Marchand Librair
dans le Pooten, à l'Enſeigne de Mezeray. 1693

Bookplate from the Functions of the Cavalry and Infantry Officer, 1692.



French Lifeguard & Officer of the Royal Horse c.1676.

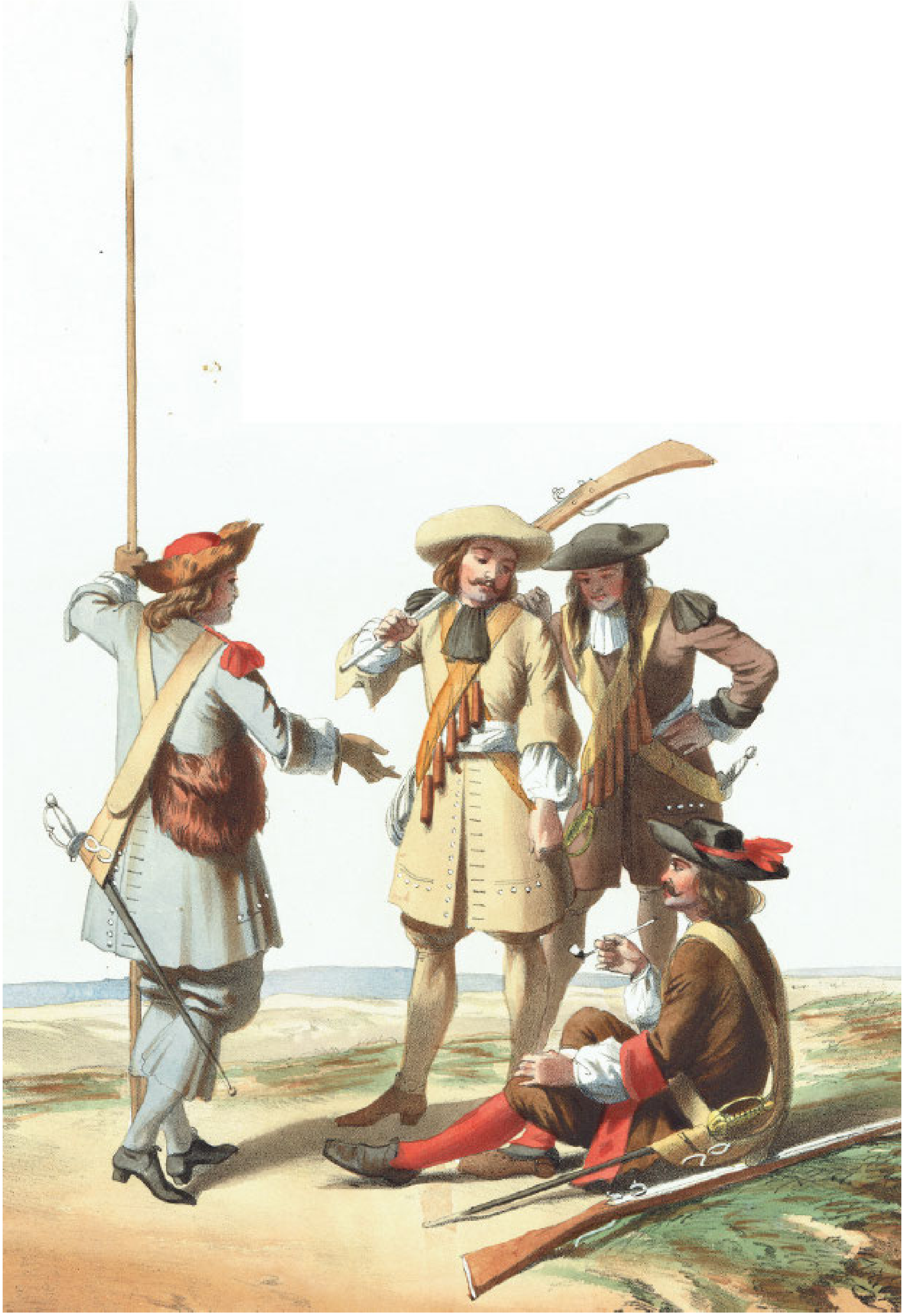
The cavalry was composed of regiments of cavaliers or troopers. Each regiment was broken down into companies or troops, with a troop normally having 50 troopers, commanded by a captain. However, it was also common to have independent troops of horse. The cavalry was used to attack the flanks of the enemy and exploit any weakness in the opposing line of battle. While on campaign, the cavalry was used to surprise the enemy, raid their quarters, destroy the countryside, disrupt convoys, cut the enemy off from supplies, interrupt their march, seize outposts, gather intelligence and locate the enemy army. The cavalry usually made up around a third of an army's strength.

The infantry was the main strength of an army. It was the infantrymen who took and held places during a campaign. Although they were slower than the cavalry, they moved with more security and purpose. Importantly, the infantry was cheaper to maintain than cavalry, in both pay and supplies. In garrison, the infantry would be formed into regiments with up to 24 companies, but normally only10 for regular units.

When on campaign a regiment was split into battalions of five or six companies, each with 100 or more privates under a captain. Typically, two-thirds of a company were armed with muskets, while the other third had pikes, 16 to 18 feet long. By 1685, most regiments had a separate company of grenadiers. These were the tallest and strongest soldiers, who were armed with muskets, bayonets and grenades. They normally marched in front of the battalion and were used to capture strongholds and hold the most important places.

Dragoons were mounted soldiers and formed into troops like the cavalry, but armed like the infantry with muskets, swords and bayonets. They fought both on foot and from horseback and were used to seize bridges or fords and cover the front of the army. They acted as the eyes and ears of the general.

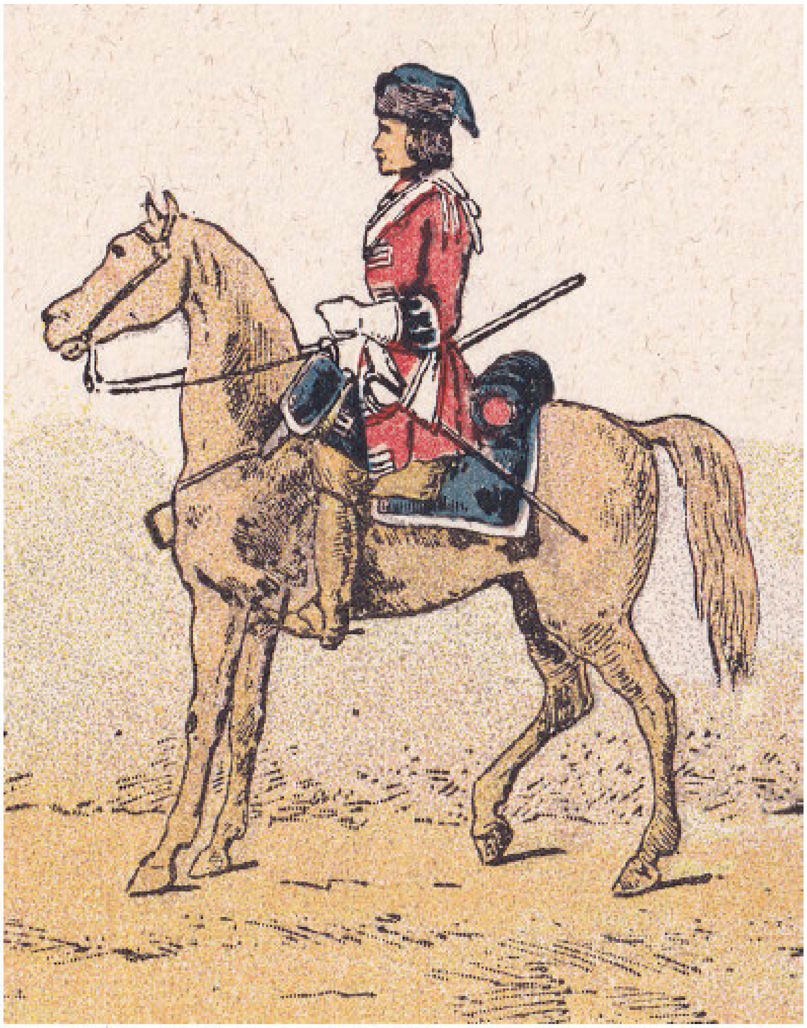
The artillery train was the army’s magazine, holding all the arms and tools needed to wage war. This included the pieces of ordnance or cannons and the gun crews who served these weapons. The pieces of ordnance and their gun crews would be formed into brigades, while the train of artillery contained all the equipment and ammunition for the army.



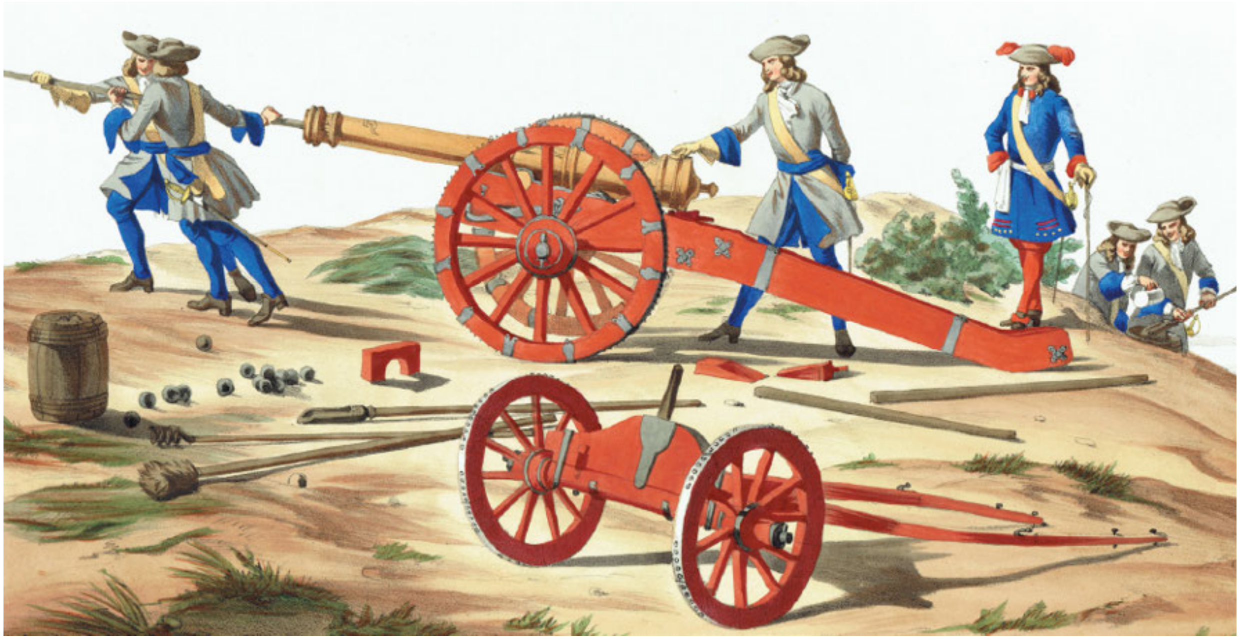
French Infantry Pikeman & Musketeers c.1667.

The artillery was supported by specialist infantry companies who assisted the gunners, acted as labourers and guarded the train while on the move, or in the artillery park overnight. These soldiers were armed with fusils or firelock muskets.

Supplies covered the provision of bread, meat, beer or wine and the other provisions intended for the sustenance of the troops. The commissioner of supplies was responsible for gathering these provisions. He required large convoys of wagons to collect and distribute the supplies. In turn, these convoys were guarded by detachments of both infantry and cavalry.



French Dragoon c.1690.



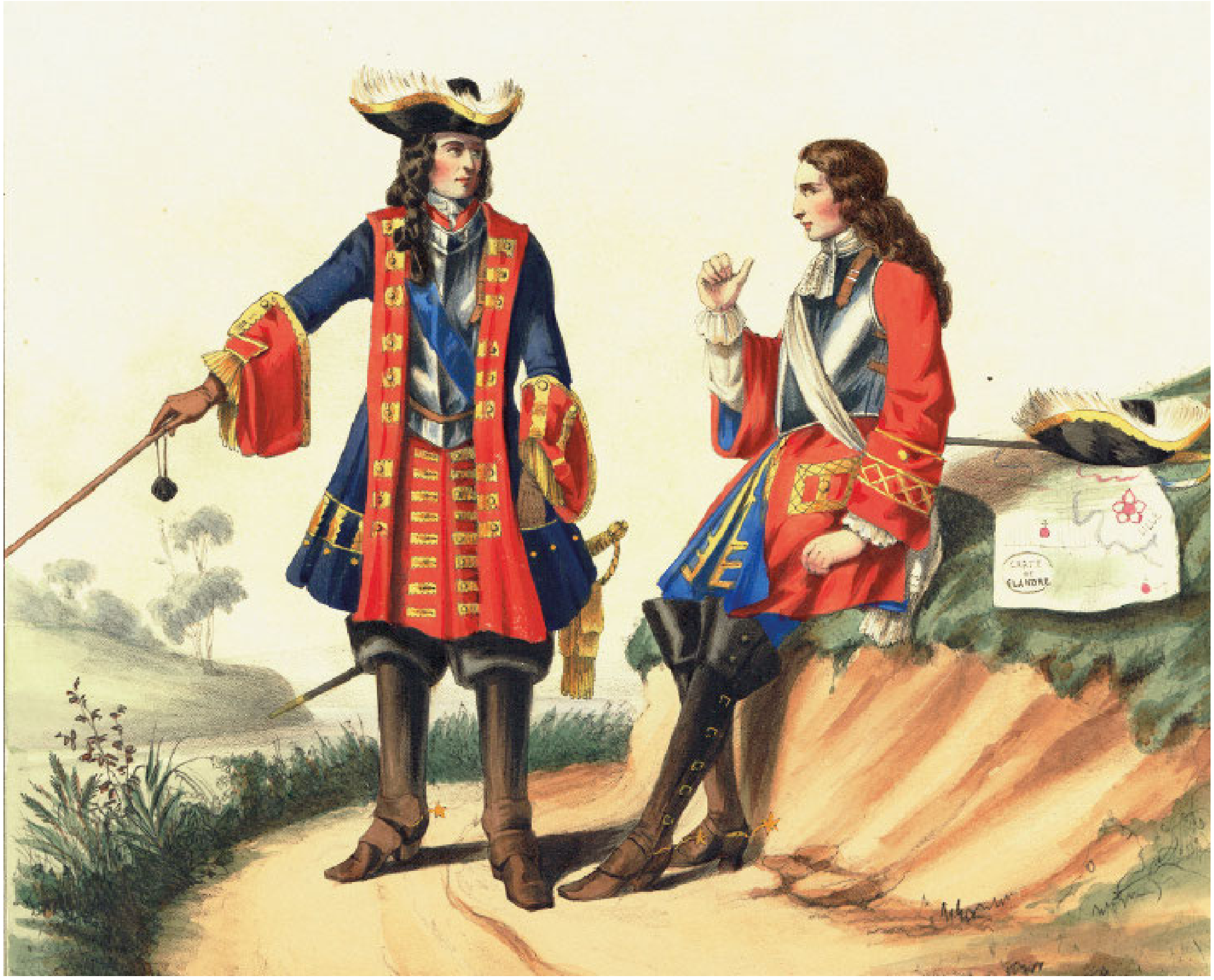
French Artillery c.1672.

Command & Control

The General

The general was at the centre of the army and therefore nothing moved without his orders. He was supported by lieutenant generals, a master of ordnance, an adjutant general, the major general, brigadiers and other officers. The general needed to be a man of bravery, experience and integrity. However, it was his social rank that gave him authority and ensured that he was respected by his officers and men. It was his duty to preserve the strength of the army and still make them victorious. To do this the general needed to be prudent rather than demonstrate courage. For all his bravery, it was the general's integrity that ensured the loyalty of his officers and soldiers.

The general was not solely concerned with fighting battles but had to consider winning the whole campaign. Therefore, before taking one step against the enemy, he started by taking all the measures needed to secure his victory. This took cunning and intelligence. Every campaign started by examining the country and not committing his troops until the best positions – the defiles, roads and rivers – had been identified. The general would then establish the locations where stores and supplies could be gathered for the army. Finally, the general would tell his principal officers of his strategy and what he needed from them.



French General Officers c.1694.

Once the campaign had started, the general would carefully consider each opportunity he had to give battle, weighing up the risks and benefits. However, the general would always try to defeat his enemy by cunning, rather than simply by force of arms. This could be done by surprising them while they were on the march, attacking them while they crossed an obstruction or by stopping their flow of supplies. However, a general of poor integrity would keep the soldiers on prolonged watches or marches, not providing regular supplies or not spending money on agents and spies. To win a campaign the general had to learn the enemy's intentions, know their strengths and weaknesses and be informed of their movements.

There was one thing that separated the great general from the ordinary commander and that was his ability to gain the love of his soldiers and especially his officers. This was achieved by his integrity by praising and rewarding honourable deeds, but also punishing bad actions. If the general attracted the distaste of his army, he ended up with two enemies. He had to ensure that his orders were observed, otherwise the military discipline would collapse. He had to maintain control by prohibiting his soldiers from pillaging friendly lands or even the enemy's without his permission. Any soldiers who contravened these instructions had to be severely punished.

While in the field, the general would regulate the march of his army, approve the nightly encampments, visit the guards and continuously send parties out to gather news about the enemy. Every evening he would be expected to hold a council of war, inviting his lieutenant generals, the quartermaster general, the adjutant general and the major general. In this meeting, the general would issue instructions for the guards and sentries, detail his intentions for the following days and listen carefully to their advice. However, once he had decided on a course of action, he had to stick to his plan.

To support the general in these tasks, he had clerks to write down his orders and then aides-de-camp who carried these orders to the army. The general would be accompanied by a troop of mounted guards and an infantry guard for his headquarters. This was composed of a captain, a lieutenant, a second lieutenant or an ensign, two sergeants and 50 soldiers.

The Lieutenant General

The lieutenant general would ideally need to be an officer of extraordinary bravery and merit. They had to be loyal to the state and to have distinguished themselves in all the tasks that had been entrusted to them. In the army, they were second only to the commanding general and their main function was to command cavalry or infantry detachments, convoys or a flying column. On the day of battle, the lieutenant generals would lead the wings of the army. However, in the absence of a general, the senior lieutenant general would command the army, taking on all the roles and duties of the general. The lieutenant general had his own clerk and aides-de-camp who carried messages to the general or his brigade commanders. He too would have an infantry guard, composed of a lieutenant, a sergeant and 30 soldiers.

Master of Ordnance

The Artillery Train and the Magazines came under the command of the Master of Ordnance and it was his duty to procure and transport everything needed for war. This included all the arms and other tools necessary for warfare, such as pieces of ordnance, balls, mortars, shells, utensils, and gunpowder. For the soldiers there needed to be a magazine with grenades, barrels of powder, ball, links of match, cartridges plus all kinds of small arms, muskets and pikes. While for the artillery there needed to be felling axes, rope ladders, chevaux de frize, planks, boards, barrels, ropes, and pontoons or stitch boats. All this required a substantial number of carts, wagons, caisson, horses and people to drive them.

In the absence of the Master of Ordnance, a Comptroller or Captain of Artillery was put in charge of the Artillery Train. This officer must have the capacity to instruct the General in how to carry out a design, besiege a place, give a battle, or fortify a town. He should know how to place the pieces of ordinance plus the strength and range of each piece. In battle he must take care that the Artillery Park is well placed and easily defended, but in case of disaster ensure that the pieces can be withdrawn quickly. This artillery officer has absolute control over all the artillery, and its personnel, only recognising the general above him.

Comptroller checking his works. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

The Adjutant General

The post of adjutant general was held by an officer who had demonstrated good service and had experience in the conduct of an army on campaign. The main duties of the adjutant general were to reconnoitre the line of march, examine defiles and identify the best lodgements. Each day he would go ahead of the army with the quartermaster general and together they would reconnoitre the place identified for that night’s quarter. He would take careful note of the land, ensuring that there was space for the army, with water and wood nearby. However, if any of these things were lacking, especially in the advanced seasons, the adjutant general was authorised to find a better place for the lodgement.

Once the lodgement had been approved by the general, the adjutant general would place the greater guard (a screening force) about half a league from the camp on the side closest to the enemy. In the evening, the adjutant general would meet with both the general and the major general. Together, they would agree the next day’s lodgement, the route and order of march. The adjutant general was to be accompanied by a squadron of cavalry, who acted as scouts during the day and then at night went on to form the greater guard.

The Major General

The post of major general also required a person of experience, who understood the details of warfare. To perform his duties, he needed to know the strength of every brigade, battalion, company and troop in the army. This allowed him to put together the order of march for the army. In the council of war, he would offer up advice on units available for detachments, their condition and their place in the line of battle.

Each evening he would meet the general and take down the orders for the following day. He would then distribute these punctually to all the commanders of the cavalry, infantry and artillery brigades. The major general would be careful to check that the instructions given to commanders had been understood and provide guides as required. He was to regulate the convoys, the forage parties and all the army detachments. The major general was responsible for the placement of the main guards and to distribute the word of the day to the sentries. During the night, the major general was to inspect the main guard to ensure the safety of the army. On the day of battle, the major general would often command the army’s second line.

Brigadiers

These officers commanded formations containing several battalions or troops grouped together to form infantry brigades or cavalry squadrons. This was done during the campaign to create greater flexibility, to ease movement and simplify the issuing of orders. The post of brigadier was usually a temporary appointment and would normally be the senior colonel or lieutenant colonel from the units brigaded together. However, the appointment was based on experience and not seniority. Their function was to march at the head of the brigade and follow the orders given out by the general. On campaign, they commanded according to seniority of their commission.

Scoutmaster General

This office was held by a person who knew both the local language and countryside ahead of the army. The scoutmaster had two functions, the first was to secure the guides and the second was to reconnoitre the roads in advance of the army, identifying defiles and potential choke points, possible ambush points, locations for lodgements and ground for battles.

The scoutmaster was assisted by a troop of cavalry or dragoons and would visit villages two or three days ahead of the army to recruit guides. When in enemy country, it was normal to seize guides by force and take hostages to ensure their loyalty. During the campaign these guides would be used to assist the commanders of convoys, the baggage train, the artillery train or other detachments from the army. Without guides, an army’s rate of march would be reduced and the likelihood of surprise far greater. During the campaign of 1685, both sides had good local knowledge and maps, but guides were still an important requirement, especially at night.

Lifeguards & Cavalry

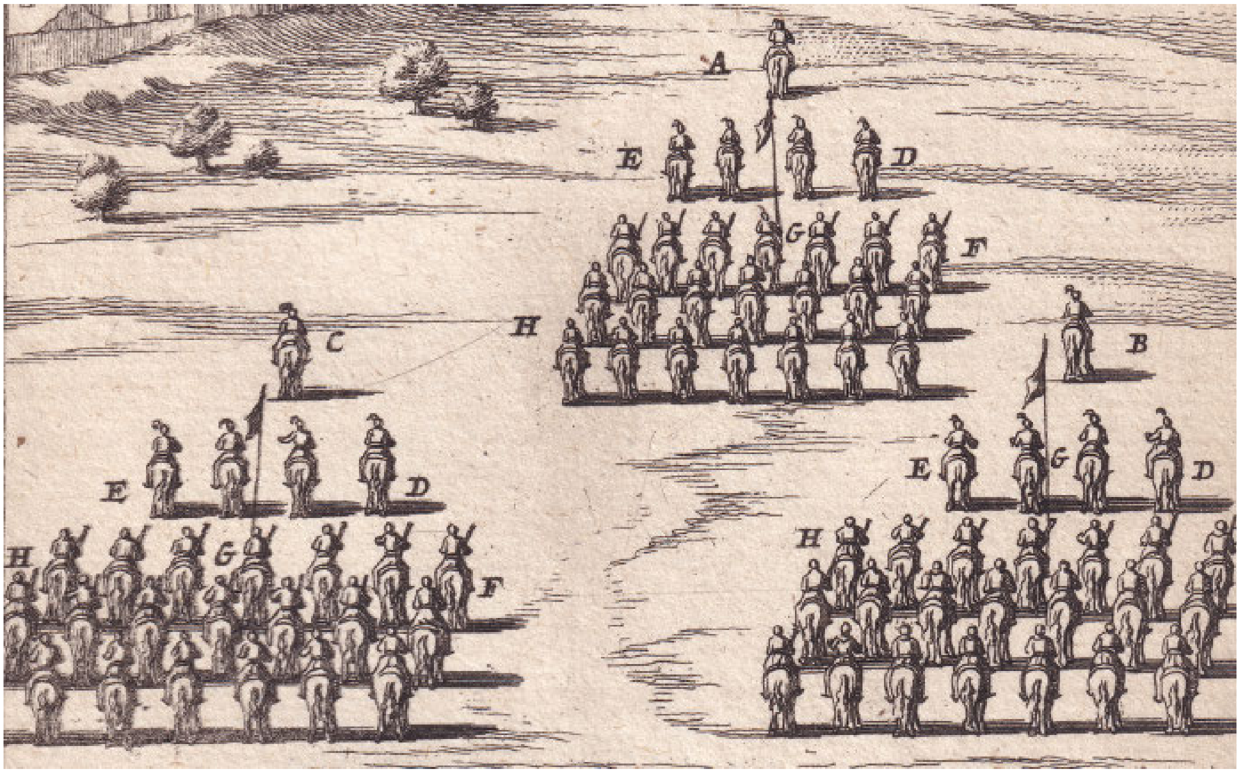
Cavalry Troop

The basic cavalry element was the troop of 50 or 60 men, commanded by a captain and supported by a lieutenant, a cornet and the quartermaster. The troop was normally sub-divided into three or sometimes four sections or squads each led by a brigadier or corporal. The quartermaster acted like a sergeant but was responsible for all the troops suppliers and billets. He would lead the captain’s troop on the field.

Training

The squads were the core element of the troop. It was the duty of the corporals to teach their men basic postures, moves and the correct spacings. This was in a file of six troopers, forming up behind the file leader. There were two file spacings between horses; close order being three feet and open order six feet.

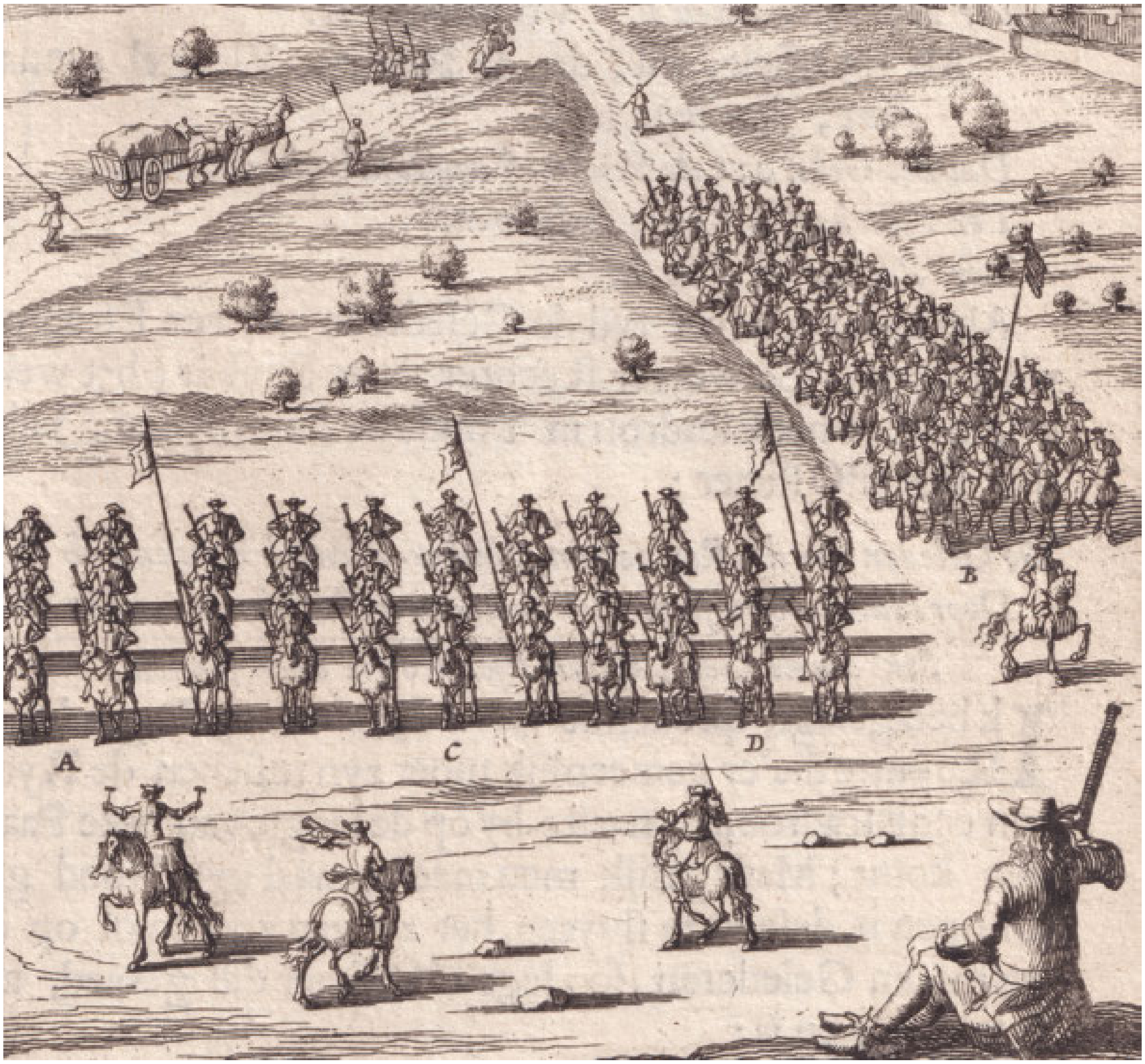
The corporals would teach the troopers to wheel, turn, double files, halve files and counter-march.



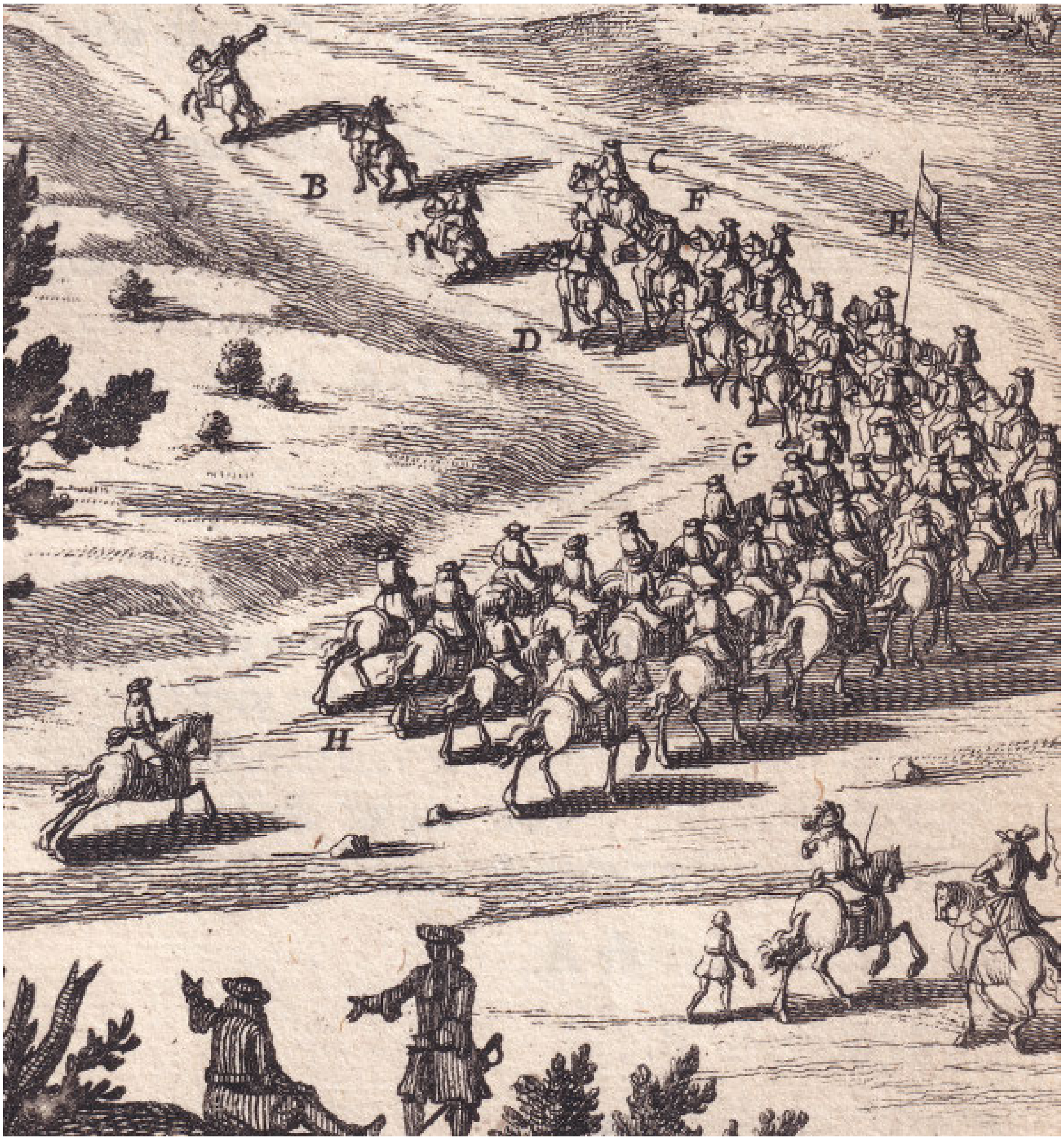
Troop drawn up in three squads c.1674.

Troop Exercises

With the corporals teaching the basic manoeuvres and postures, the captain would focus on troop exercises. Each squad would form up in a line with the corporal acting as a right marker, this would be in files of six troopers. They would then double files, to move into three close-order ranks. The unit would also practise wheeling by squads, turning and countermarching. Then the troopers would learn formation exercises, including forming an inverted ‘V’, wheeling into line and wheeling into column.



Troop drawn up in line & column c.1674.

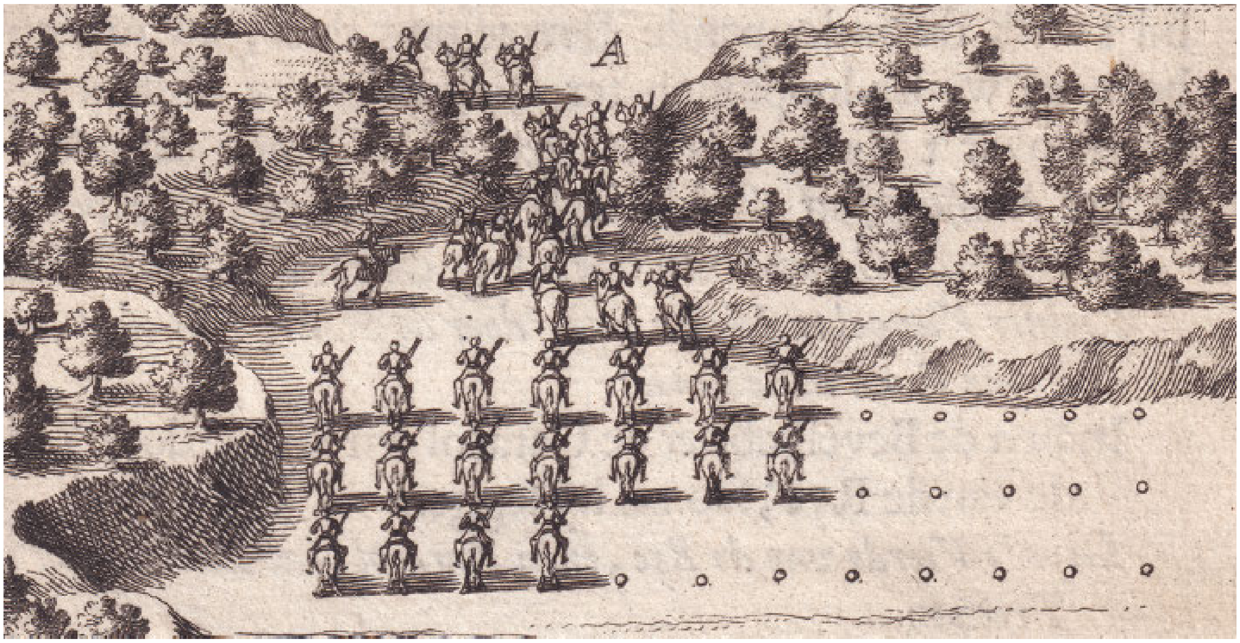


Troop marching in column c.1674.

Marching

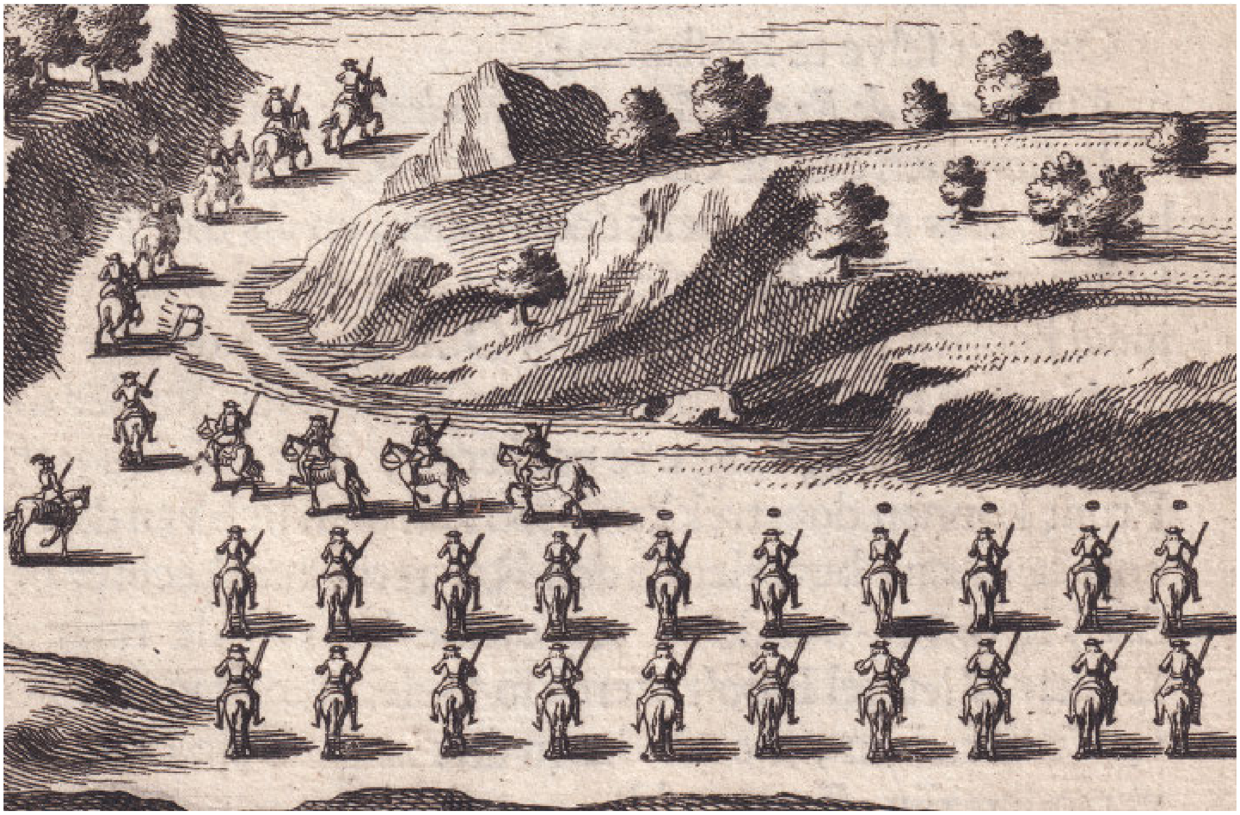
When forming a column of march, the troop would wheel two files at a time from the right. This maintained the troop structure when wheeling back into line. The troop was also trained to wheel into a column by squads, which was more suited to manoeuvring on the battlefield. Both these exercises were simple to perform with basic training, but raw troopers could quickly lose their file structure. The result would be time spent redressing the ranks when the troop stopped to form back into a line.

Crossing Defiles



Troop crossing defiles by files c.1674.

Another important exercise practised by the troop was the crossing of a defile in the face of the enemy, when the unit was obliged to pass through a gate, street or ford, which was narrower than the frontage of the troop or squad. Then the captain would lead the right-hand files through the gap in close order. These would be followed in turn by the next files from the right. On the other side, the corporal would form the squad from the right. The last person through would be the quartermaster. This procedure was the quickest way for a troop to pass an obstruction and safely reform on the other side.



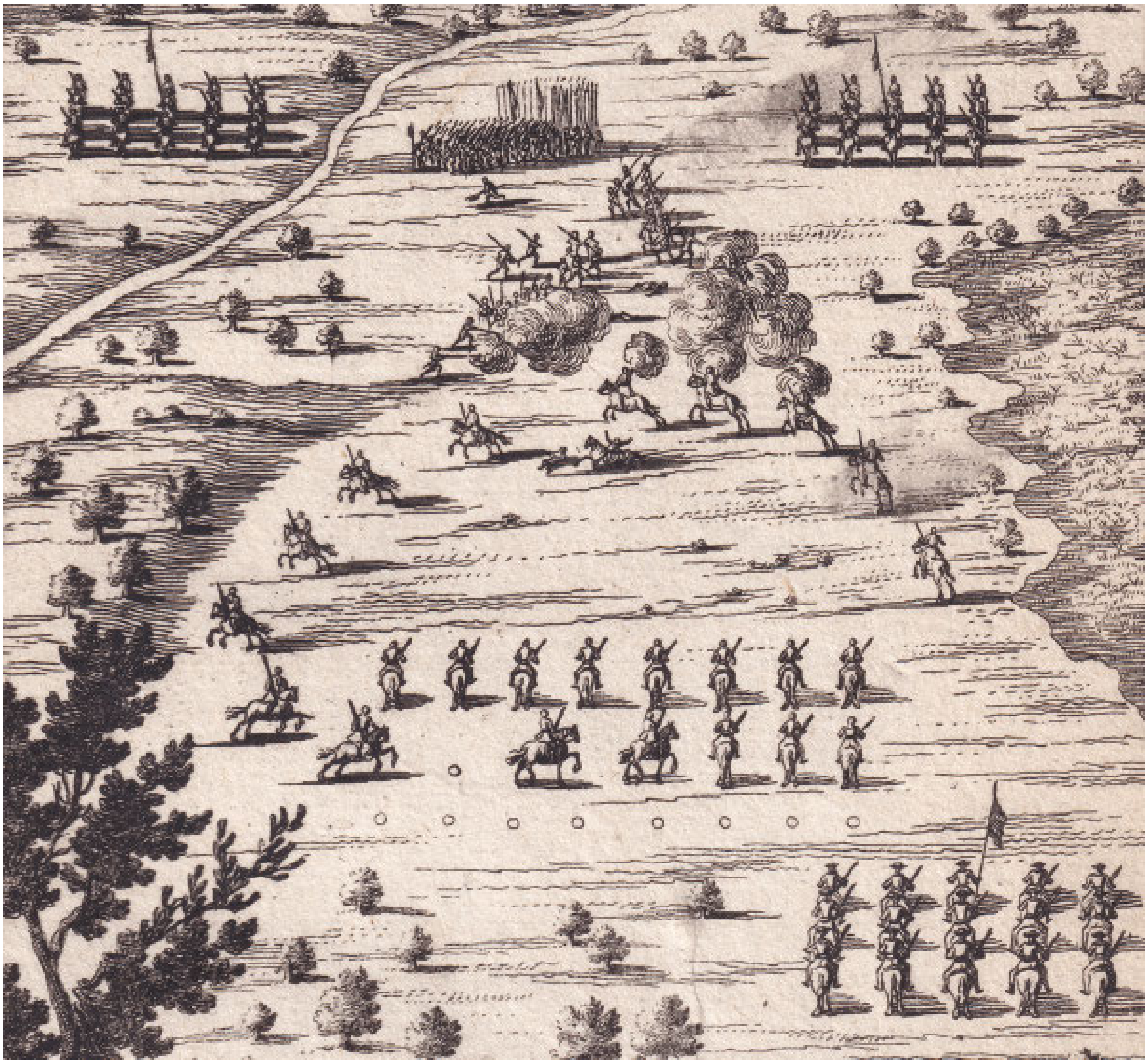
Troop crossing defiles by ranks c.1674.

Raw troopers would become disordered, resulting in time being expended reforming the ranks and files before the troop could continue its movement. Therefore, the alternative method of crossing was by ranks. This was a better option when deployed into line or when close to the enemy as it allowed the unit to fight and required less time reforming. However, while crossing the unit was at higher risk from enemy attack.

Firing Exercises

Before moving into hand-to-hand combat both sides discharged pistols and carbines; this procedure was called the caracole. This term described the process of rotating and continuously cycling troopers across the face of the enemy. As the range of a pistol was only around 40 paces, the troopers had to get close to hit their target. The caracole was used against infantry and cavalry. In 1685 the cavalry did not just charge into the enemy with swords drawn.

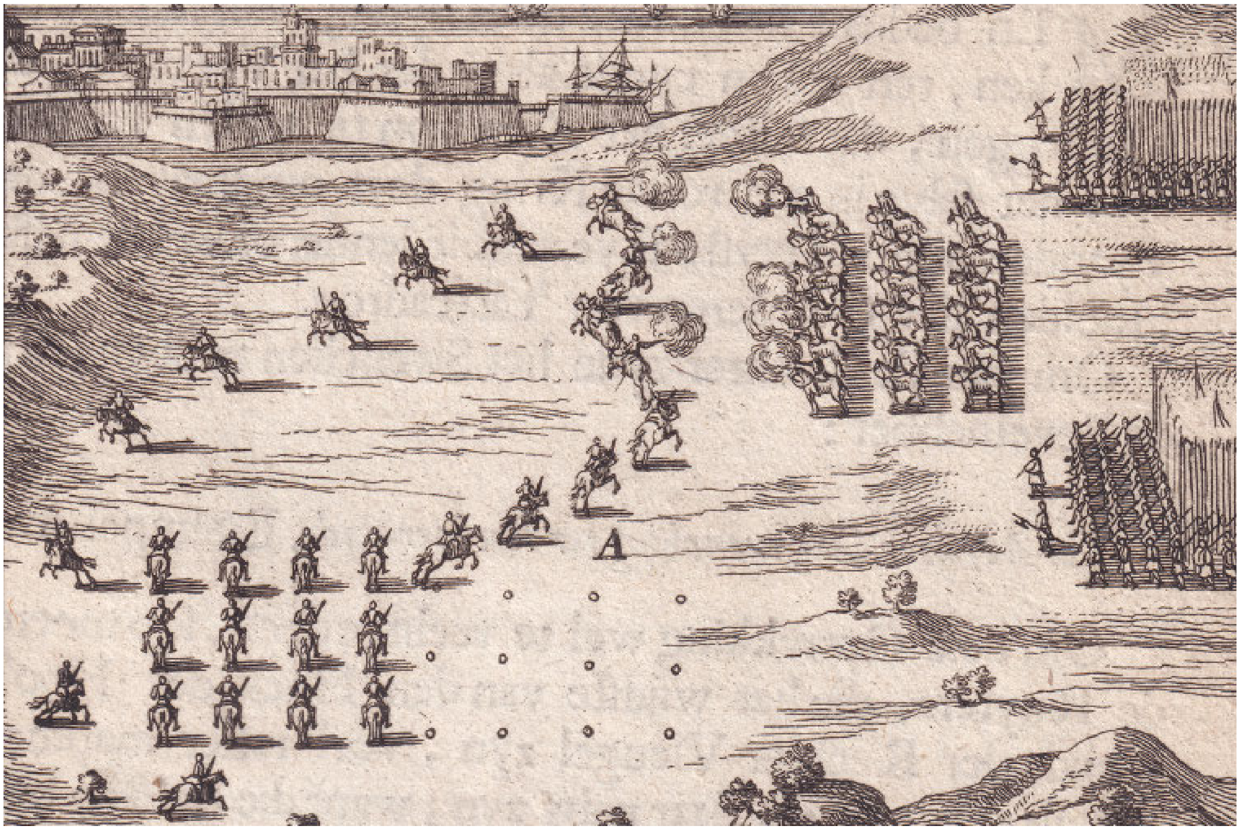
The simplest exercise was to caracole by ranks. Each officer would command a rank and they would take it in turns to advance at the trot. The officer would order the troopers to wheel left, forming a single file, which would then fire to the right. After firing the file would gallop to the rear of the troop. Once the front file had cleared the enemy front, the next rank would trot forward and repeat the process. The troopers would also use this procedure to fire their carbines while mounted. The approximate range of the carbine was 180 paces, although the corporal may have had an extraordinary or rifled carbine with greater accuracy and range.



Troop caracole by ranks c.1674.

The more complex and more effective caracole was by squads. Starting with the right-hand file of the squad, the file leader would trot towards the enemy and wheel left with each trooper firing to their right as they faced the enemy. The file would then return to its place in the troop by galloping through the gaps between squads. The next file would follow and this would maintain a continuous fire on the enemy across the front of the troop, as each squad caracoled at the same time.

After firing, the troopers may have drawn swords and then closed with the theoretically disordered enemy at the trot. However, these firing exercises needed to be well practised or they could quickly go wrong, causing disorder, especially if the enemy fire caused officer casualties. Therefore, raw troopers could start with the caracole by rank and progress to caracole by file. However, these raw troopers would become disordered as they returned to the rear and their ranks would have to be dressed.



Troop caracole by files c.1674.

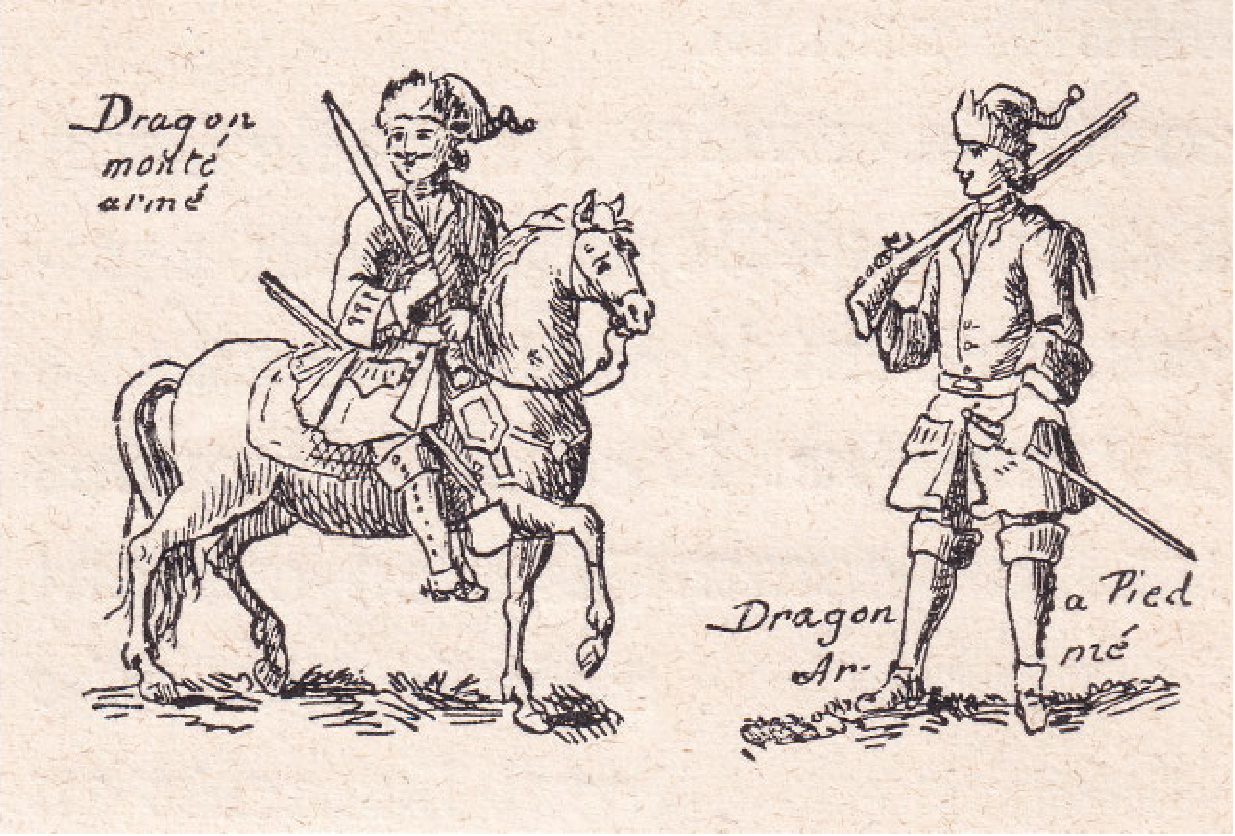
Squadron Exercise

When two or three troops of cavalry were temporarily brigaded together, they formed a squadron. The senior captain then commanded the combined unit. However, there were no formal exercises to follow but they do appear to have been deployed into a ‘V’, similar to squads, with enough spacing between the troops to allow wheeling and for the rear troop to move through the front troops or act as a reserve covering the flanks.

Horse Grenadiers

The horse grenadiers were specialist cavalry often attached to the Lifeguards. Like the dragoons, they fought both mounted and dismounted. When mounted they were trained to fight like cavalry and when dismounted they acted like grenadiers and dragoons.

The Dragoons



French Dragoons c.1680.

Dragoon Troop

Dragoons were hybrid soldiers, ‘jacks-of-all-trades’, acting as both cavalry and infantry. They were organised like an infantry company, with drummers, sergeants, long carbines and bayonets. At the same time, they had pistols and swords like cavalry troopers. They were trained to perform both roles. In 1684, the dragoons officially became part of the British cavalry establishment and senior to the infantry regiments.

Dismounting and Remounting

To perform this exercise, the dragoon troop would be in files of six privates with the outside files becoming the horse holders and remaining mounted. Before dismounting the troopers were ordered to link horses, place pistols in their girdles and sling their muskets over the shoulder. After dismounting they would march free from the horses and shoulder muskets. Remounting was conducted in the reverse manner.

Skirmish Lines

One unique aspect of the dragoon was the use of the extended order firing line. This required the troop to double files and then turn left. With the right-hand file standing, the troop would march, with the sergeant stopping the files when they were 12 feet apart. The line would then turn to face the enemy. The officer would then fire the front rank, which would recover and wheel to the rear to prime and charge their weapons. The second rank would then step forwards, fire and recover to the rear. The officer would be careful to ensure that the second rank of dragoons was loaded and at the poise, before discharging the front rank. The addition of two pistols and a plug bayonet gave the dragoon extra protection.

To recover, the right-hand file was ordered to stand and the rest of the troop was ordered to face left and march. Once the ranks had closed to the close order, the troop would face to the front and then the files would be halved to the rear. The troopers could then counter-march to return to their mounts.

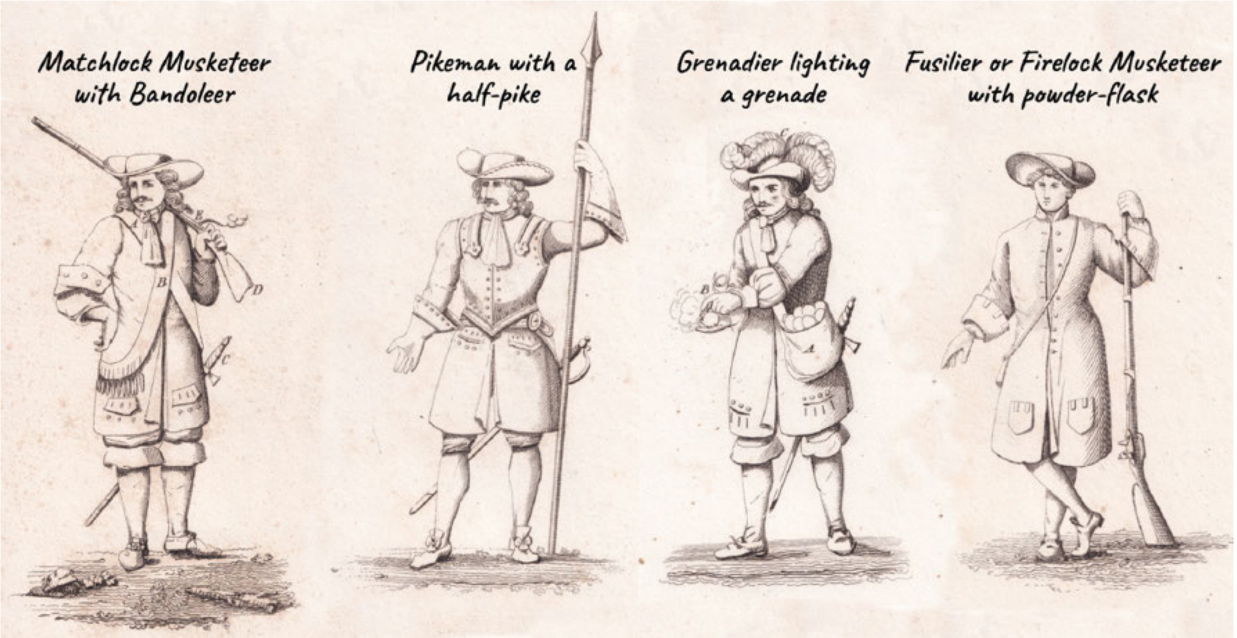
This exercise would require well-trained and experienced soldiers, otherwise, the firing could quickly fall out of sequence. The result would be part, or all the troopers becoming unready to fire and exposed to an enemy attack. However, the under the right conditions and with experienced men, the whole troop could maintain a constant rate of fire.

Dismounted Troopers from the Royal Regiment of Dragoons 1685.
(From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Infantry

Infantry Company

The basic infantry unit was the company commanded by a captain, holding a commission from the King, or in the case of the Whigs, either Monmouth or Argyll. It was the responsibility of the captain to drill and exercise his men. To do this, he was supported by his lieutenants and ensigns. These officers also had commissions issued by the state, but the captain was responsible for the selection of his sergeants, corporals and l'anspesades or lance-corporals.

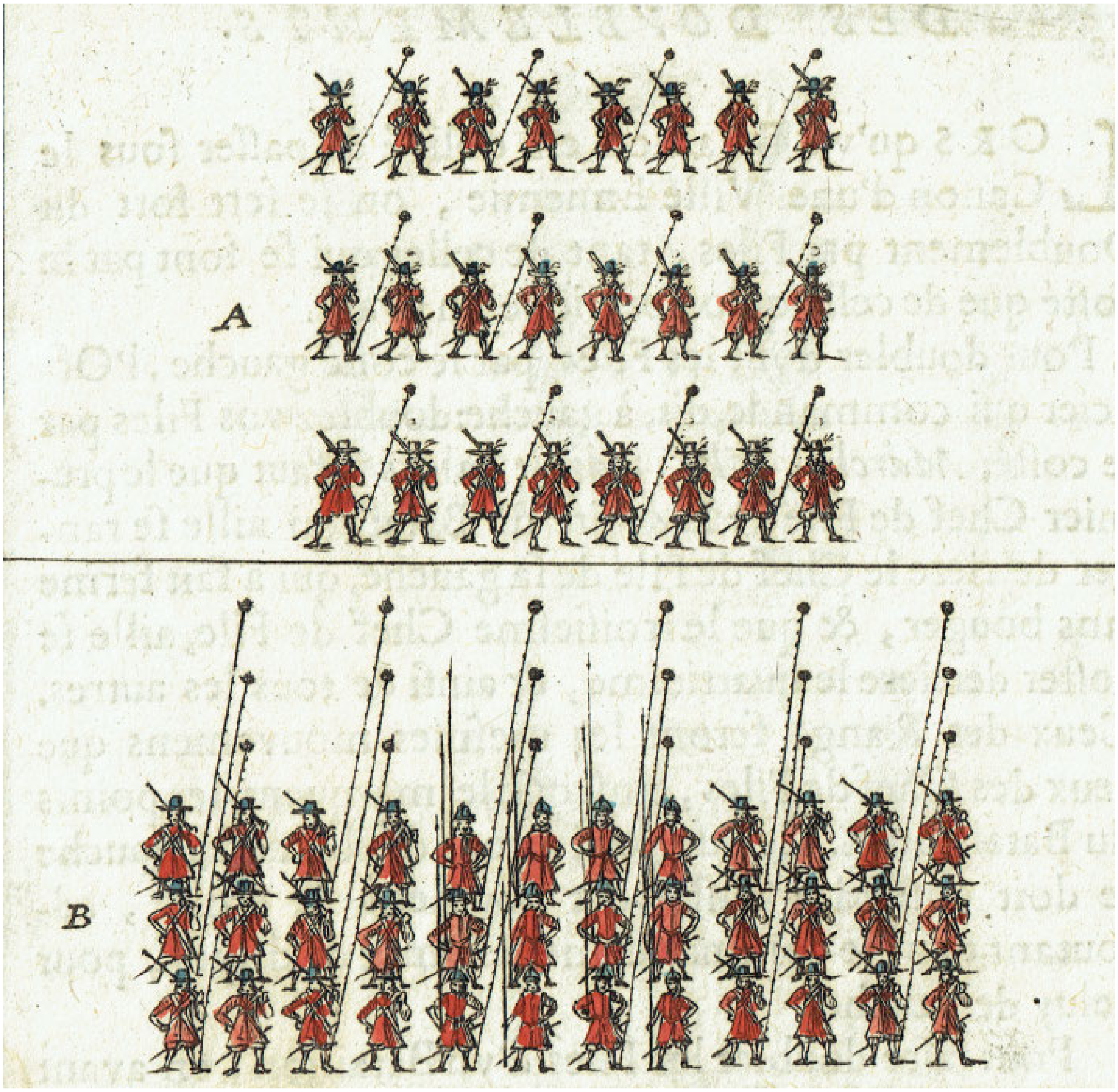

Matchlock Musketeer with Bandoleer
Pikeman with a half-pike
Grenadier lighting a grenade
Fusilier or Firelock Musketeer with powder-flask
B
D
C
B

Infantry soldiers c.1672.

Squad or Division Training

While the sergeant was responsible for maintaining discipline and ensuring the company performed its duties, the corporals controlled a division or squad of men with the support of one or two lance-corporals. Squads were composed of both pikemen and musketeers and each soldier was placed into a file of six privates. The corporal taught each soldier the postures, weapons handling and spacings. The raw soldier was taught to follow the man to his front and maintain alignment with the other soldiers in his rank, to the right and left. The spacing between the files was critical to the company's ability to manoeuvre and fight efficiently and there were four spacings; close order was one and a half feet apart, order was three feet or one pace apart, open order was six feet or two paces apart and finally double distance which was 12 feet or four paces apart.

All the exercises and drills were based on maintaining the file and therefore unit, structure. Unless the soldiers were very experienced, turning to the right or left could break the file structure and spacings, especially while on the march. It was for this reason that the wheel was normally used to alter a company's facing, rather than ordering a right or left turn. Likewise, increasing or decreasing a unit's order was done by doubling or halving files.



Company doubling or halving files to the right c.1674.

Doubling to the right (B) brought the rear half-file into the gap between two files, bringing the company quickly into close order. Halving files would take the odd files or half-files behind an even file to open the order. Both movements maintained the unit's frontage. The alternative (A) was to double by rank, but this broke the file structure. Unless the company was very well trained, to turn 180 degrees on the march, the company would counter-march rather than simply about-face. However, if attacked from behind the soldiers were trained to charge to their rear.

In the evenings, the corporals and lance-corporal would take the soldiers through their weapons postures and loading sequences. Over time, postures and spacing would become automatic for the soldier, allowing for more complex movements to be practised. Within a day the recruit would know the basics and within two days they could perform the drills needed for the battlefield. The corporal would spend time practising these basic exercises to ensure his squad was ready for company drills.

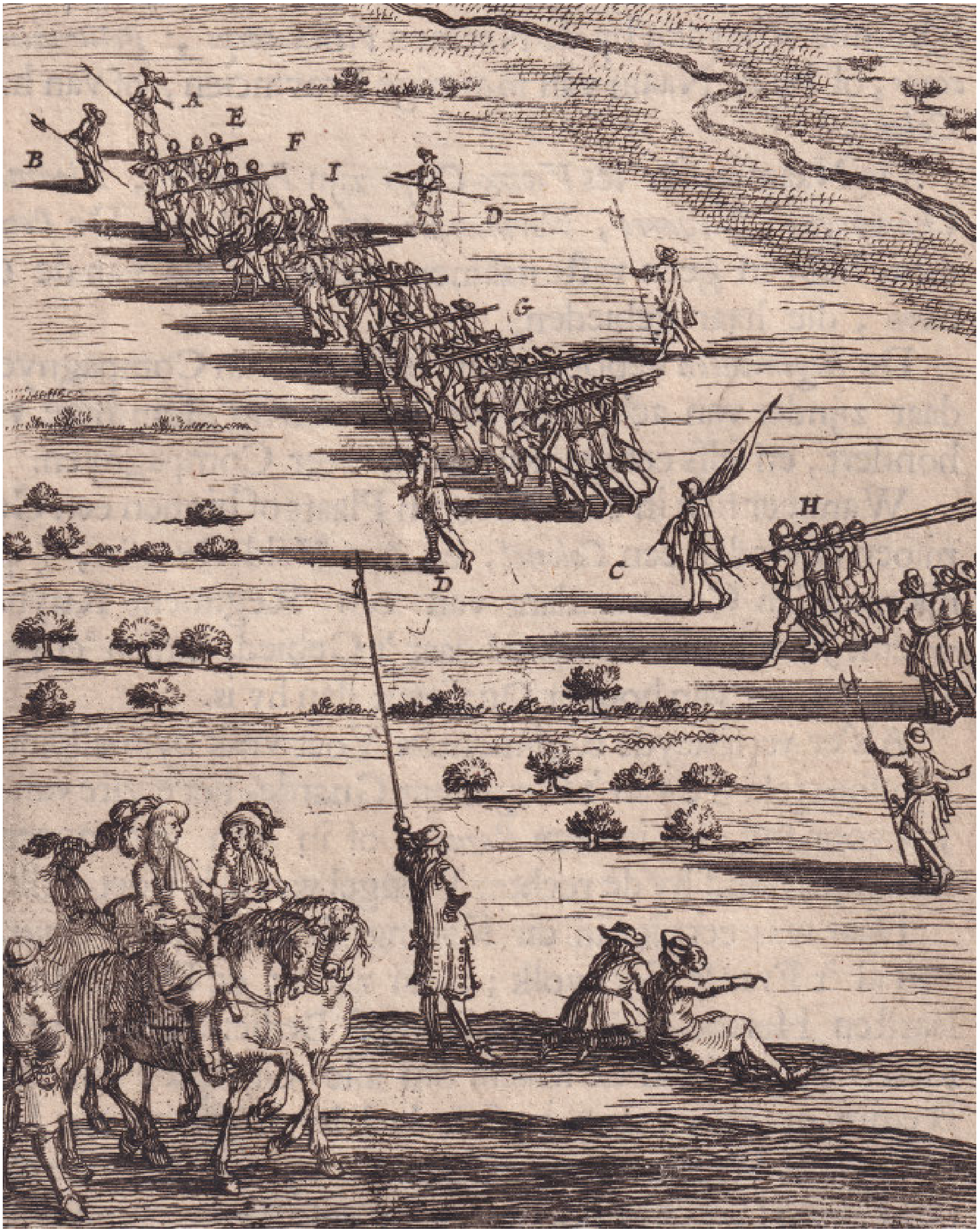
Company Training

With the non-commissioned officers making sure that the soldiers could perform the basic postures and weapons handling, the captain or his lieutenant would take the company through the unit exercises, normally to a set of instructions. This would be followed by battlefield procedures and formations. For the raw company, the most important moves to learn were interchanging files (doubling or halving), countermarching and wheeling. It was these standard manoeuvres that enabled the company to be effective on the field.

To form up the company, the drummer would beat the reveille and the musketeers would form two divisions on the wings, with the pikes in the centre. The corporals formed the right-hand markers of the musket wings. The musketeers would stand with muskets on their shoulders and pikemen would be at the order. The musket division on the right was the captain’s, the musket division on the left the lieutenant’s and pikes the ensign’s. If there was a second-lieutenant he would command the captains division, otherwise it would be the commanded by the senior sergeant.

Unless marching the files spacing was at order, with the ranks at open order. This allowed the safe interchanging of files, the loading of muskets and the various firing exercises. However, when wheeling it was a common practise to double files to the close order, as this allowed the unit to maintain its dressing. After the wheel, the files would be halved returning the unit to the order. Therefore, by the second day in the ranks, the raw soldier would ideally be able to perform most of the company exercises.

When on the march, the captain taught his soldiers to keep their files at the close order and ranks at double distance. As moving fast could quickly result in disorder, the marching pace was slow, but in step. While the company was on the move the sergeants would be free to roam around checking the unit’s dressing and pushing stragglers back into place with the butt of their halberds. When the unit stopped, the sergeants would dress the ranks and files, putting the men back into the right spacings. The more experienced the soldiers, the less time needed to redress the ranks and files. However, the most difficult exercise was crossing a defile. This would require the unit to move through the obstruction by one or more files and then reform on the other side.


A
E
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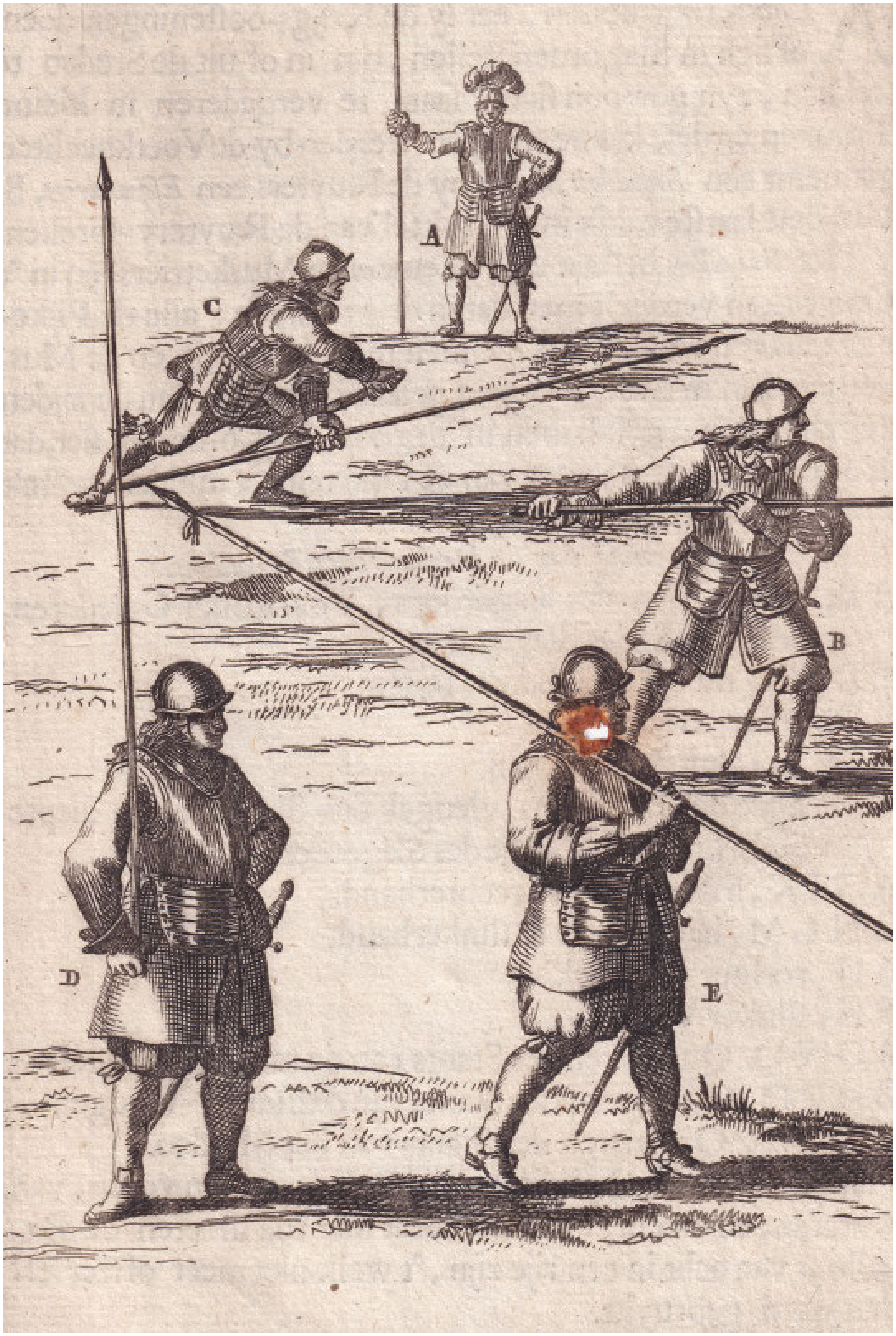
Infantry company marching c.1674.

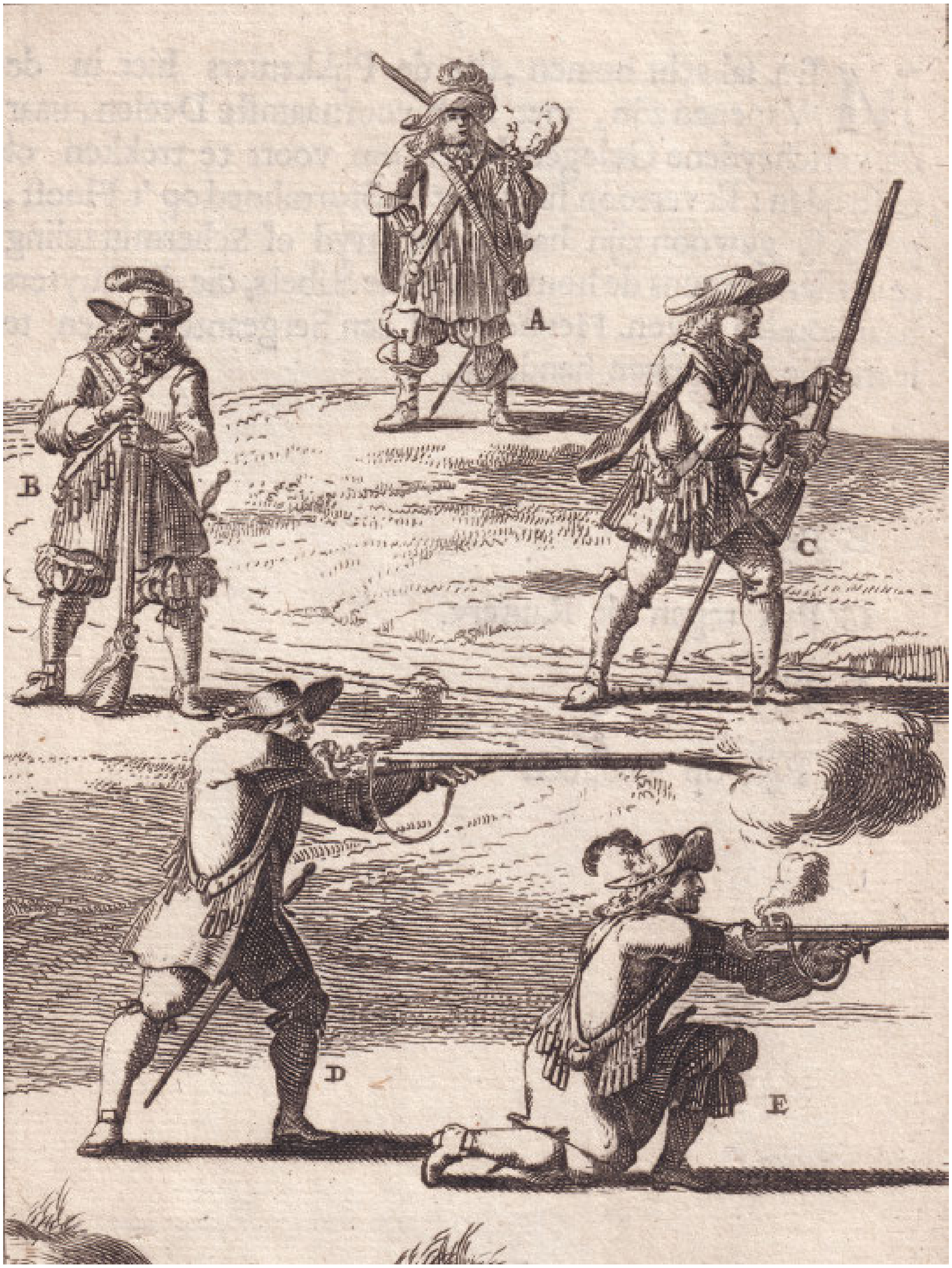
Pike Exercises



Pike exercises c.1672.

The pikemen would be taught the basic postures: stand at the order (A), charge (B), charge for horse (C), advance their pikes (D) and march with the pike at the shoulder (E). Then at a minimum, the following exercises: marching at the shoulder, advancing, interchanging files (double and half), charge and charge for cavalry. These procedures allowed the pike block to quickly support the musketeers, assault the enemy or repel a cavalry attack. Beyond this, the exercises included charging to the rear, right and left. Each was useful on the battlefield. However, the pikeman's most important discipline was to maintain spacing and formation while under fire. The pikes would form the solid centre of the company and battalia.

Musketeer Exercises



Musketeer exercises c.1672.

The corporals would take the musketeers through the various musket postures: standing at the order (A), at the ease (B), casting about (C), present (D) and kneeling (E). This was following by the loading and firing procedures, which were broken down into four key phases:

1. Priming the pan and associated tasks.

2. Charging the barrel with powder and ball.

3. Making ready and firing the piece.

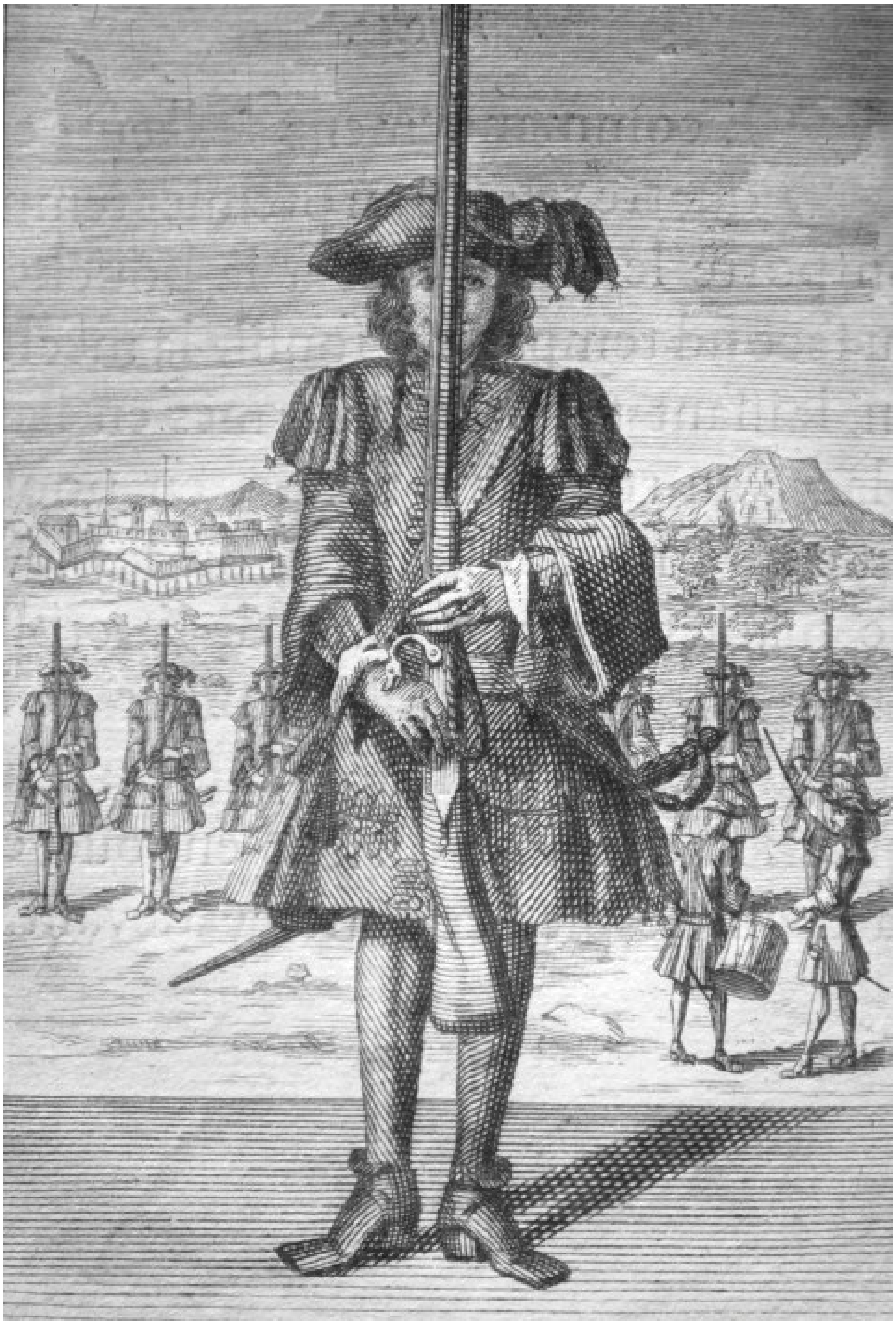
4. Recovering, cleaning and checking the pan.

At the end of each of these steps, the musketeer would return to the poise position, as an indication of readiness for the next step or to move. After loading their pieces, musketeers would march with loaded muskets on their shoulder. As it was, the charging phase, for example loading with powder and ball, consumed the most time, nearly 20 seconds and was the same regardless of the musket type. While the cartridge speeded up priming, it was only marginally faster than the flask of a bandoleer. Likewise, the firelock was faster when making ready, as the matchlock musketeer needed to cock and test his match, but the firelock was slower when recovering as the flint needed to be checked and cleaned.

Due to these rather ponderous loading drills the maximum rate of fire for a musketeer was about one or a best two shots a minute, regardless of the weapon. The maximum range of the musket was around 240 paces, although the effective range was less than 50 paces. It was for this reason that the musketeers moved and fought as squads, wings or divisions. Well trained musketeers would be able to fire to the rear, right, left or outwards.

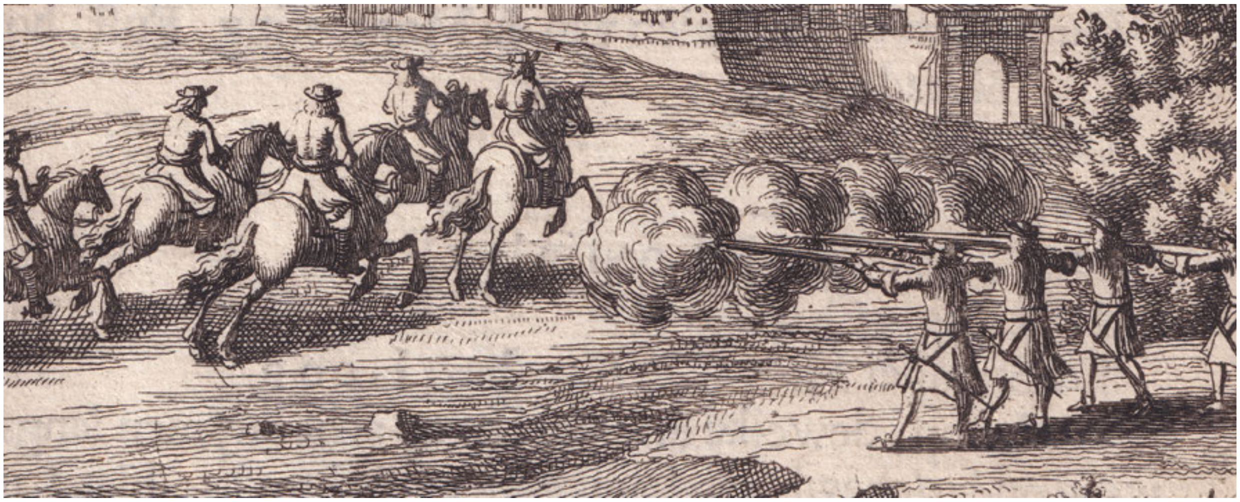
Firing by Ranks

The simplest firing practice used in 1685 was firing by ranks, advancing or retiring. This procedure ensured that a third of the musketeers were ready to fire at any time. The procedure was simple and easy for raw musketeers to follow. While the rear two ranks were priming, the next two were charging and the front two ranks would be at the poise and ready. Once the rear ranks had moved to the poise (rear ranks primed, middle ranks loaded), then the front two ranks would be advanced. Then they would be ordered to make ready, present (over the left shoulder of the man in front) and fire. After this, they would automatically recover, turn to the outside and wheel to the rear of the division. Here they would start priming and as they did this, the rest of the block stepped forwards to continue with the sequence. Although the volley was limited to a third of the unit, they would maintain a steady rate of fire, one every 20 seconds. This firing procedure would allow for the block to fire continuously and move slowly forwards or backwards. If slower and more steady discharge was required a single rank might fire at a time.



Matchlock musketeer at the Poise c.1690.

As the musketeers fired, the stand of pikes would be aligned with the third or newly charged rank of muskets. They would then automatically charge pikes when the musketeers were ordered to present. Using this drill the musket block could move when all ranks were at the poise.



Musketeers firing by ranks c.1672.

Three Rank Volley

Another common practice was to fire by volley. To do this, the division doubled their files. The front rank would kneel and the second two ranks would make ready, present and then fire. Then the front rank would stand, present and fire. After this, the musketeers would club muskets or plug bayonets and advance. If not, then they would recover. While the musketeers discharged their volley, the pike would be at the charge ready for an attack. This procedure created a devastating volley, but the risks were high. To perform this procedure, every musket had to be loaded and the block would not be ready to fire again for up to a minute.

Firing to the Rear

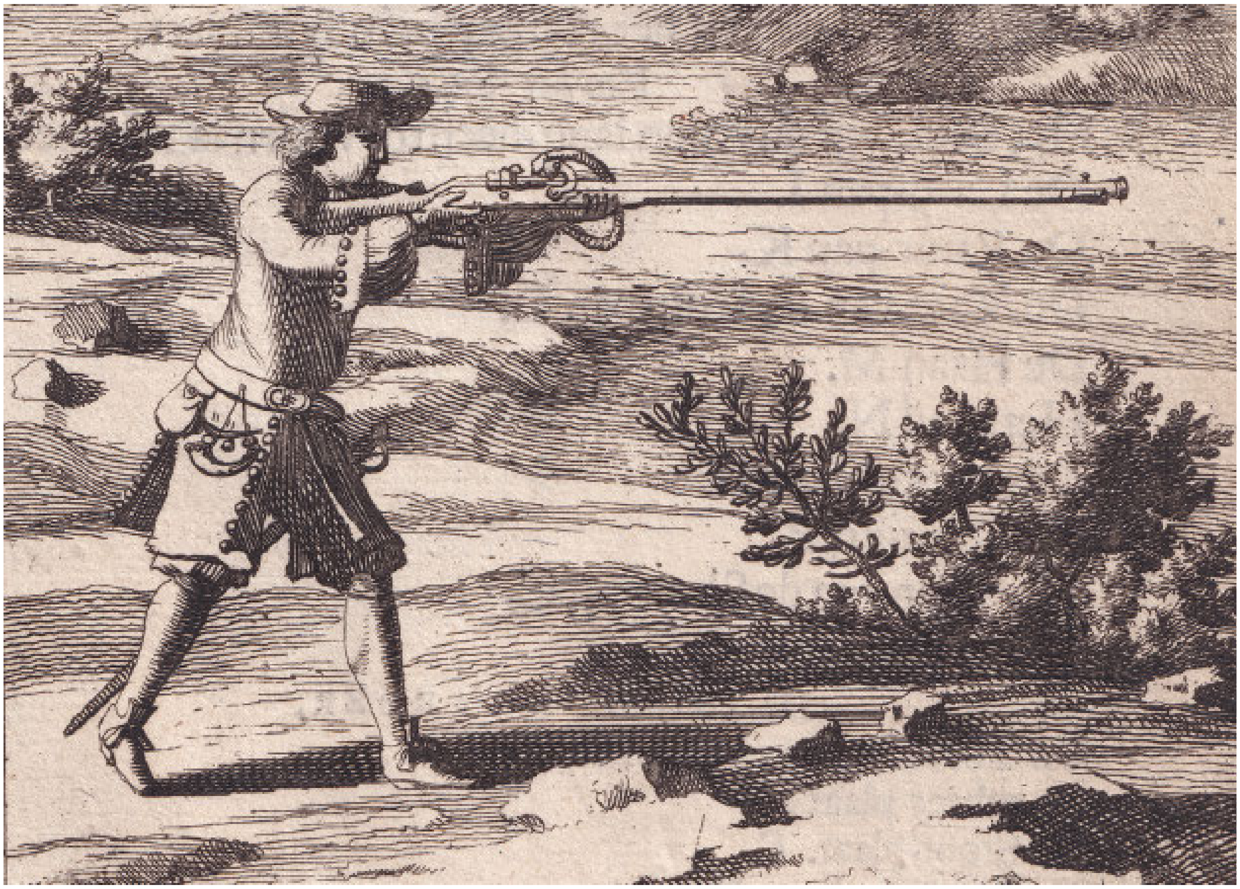
This firing procedure could be performed by trained musketeers but took courage. This was similar to firing by advanced ranks. However, with the enemy to the rear, the musket block would stand and the rear rank would make ready. On the command present, the rank would turn to the right about, present and fire. They would then recover, face outward and at double speed, move to the front of the block. At each discharge the pike block would stand and charge their pikes to the rear, covering the retreat. This combined arms procedure would allow the unit to withdraw quickly in the face of the enemy while maintaining a constant fire from a third of the unit.

French Volley or Firing to the Front

For obvious reasons, only very well-trained soldiers performed this final procedure. The division would stand in six ranks and would make ready. The front five ranks would kneel and the rear rank would present and fire. Then the fifth rank would stand, present and fire. Then the fourth would fire and so on. After firing, the ranks were to automatically recover, prime and reload. This method of firing would allow for a semicontinuous discharge of a sixth of the shot every 10 seconds.

However, there are several interesting issues with this method of firing. Firstly, the front two ranks would need to prime and charge while kneeling. Secondly, the front rank would be 30 feet in front of the rear rank and therefore covered in the burning discharge from the rear three ranks. This could be an interesting experience while trying to load kneeling, especially if at night and under fire from the enemy.

Finally, as only the rear ranks would be ready to fire if attacked, the front ranks would need to kneel in the face of an enemy assault. One adaptation was for the front two ranks to remain loaded, while the rear ranks fired by rotation. This provided an instant volley if attacked. However, it wasted a third of the available firepower. It is for these reasons that only well trained and experienced soldiers could perform this firing procedure. As they did so they could not move, but the whole unit could fire.



Matchlock musketeer presenting c.1672.

Battlefield Resupply

An often-overlooked aspect of the late seventeenth-century firefight was the supply of powder, match and ball. Each musketeer had either a bandoleer or cartridge box. The bandoleer was a shoulder belt with 12 powder flasks, a priming flask and a bag with ball and warding. The cartridge box held twelve paper charges containing powder, together with musket balls. In the French fashion, some soldiers were supplied with powder flasks used for priming and charging plus a separate ball bag. Soldiers armed with matchlock muskets also had a link of match cord in their belts, plus a foot of burning match.

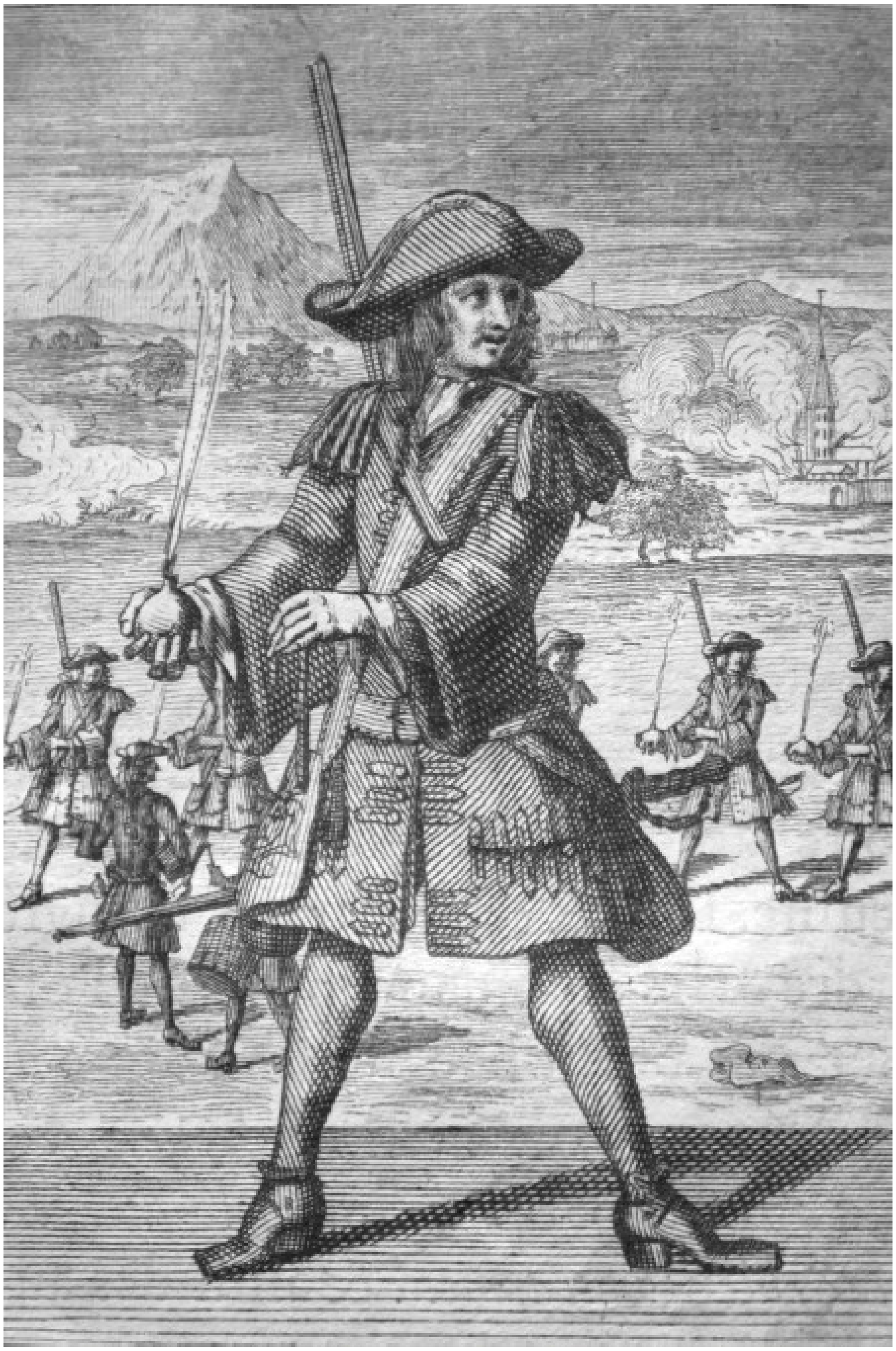
During battle, fully loaded bandoleers were exchanged with the rear rank of the musketeers. These were loaded by dipping the flasks into a powder barrel that was kept in the second battle line with the artillery train. Selected soldiers would run back and forth carrying armfuls of bandoleers for distribution. Likewise, if equipped with cartridges, the rear rank would be given extra charges regularly, plus handfuls of musket balls. For battalions with standardised weapons, the bore of the musket and therefore the size of the ball was not an issue.

However, for units with a mixture of weapons, this became a problem. If the ball was too small the range and accuracy were dramatically reduced, if the ball was too tight, then the ball could get stuck or the barrel could explode. To get around this problem, a colour coding system was adopted, so that soldiers could grab the right bore ball and bandoleers. But this slowed down the whole resupply process. Soldiers with nonstandard weapons would need to carry extra bags containing their special musket balls. Likewise, soldiers could not just pick up a dead man's bandoleer and ammunition. All this slowed down the unit's rate of fire. If no powder resupply was available, then the officer needed to hold back the last one or two shots.

Grenadier Exercises

In addition to the musket exercises, the grenadiers would be trained to throw their grenades. Typically, this was done alongside the volley procedure. The block would double its files. Then the front rank would kneel and the rear two ranks fire, recover and then handle grenades, light fuses and throw. They would then plug their bayonets. After this, the front rank would stand, fire, recover, handle grenades, light and deliver and insert plug bayonets. Then the whole unit would advance.

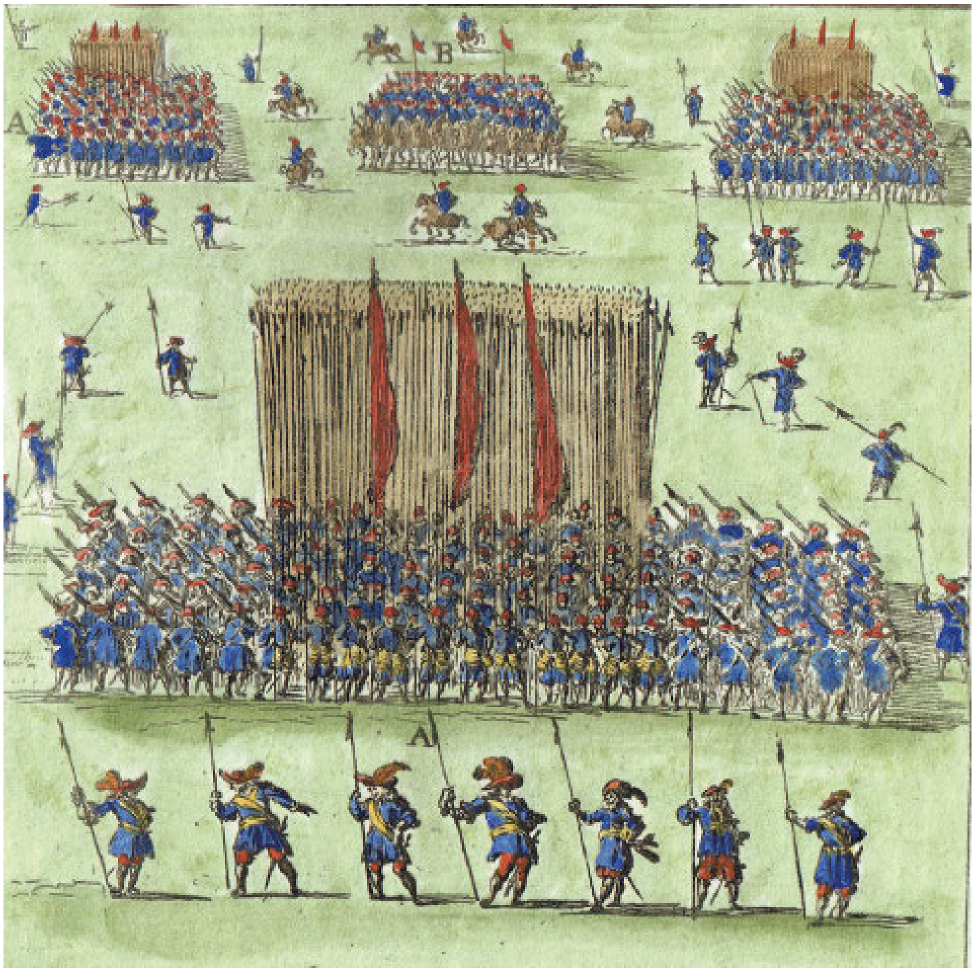
This procedure could also be part of the firing by ranks, where the front rank delivered their grenades and then wheeled to the rear. They were then followed by the next rank and so on. This could be used to capture a barricade, gate or breach in a city wall. However, only well trained and experienced soldiers could perform these complex procedures, but both resulted in the maximum discharge of both muskets and grenades at close range.



Grenadier about to deliver grenade c.1690.

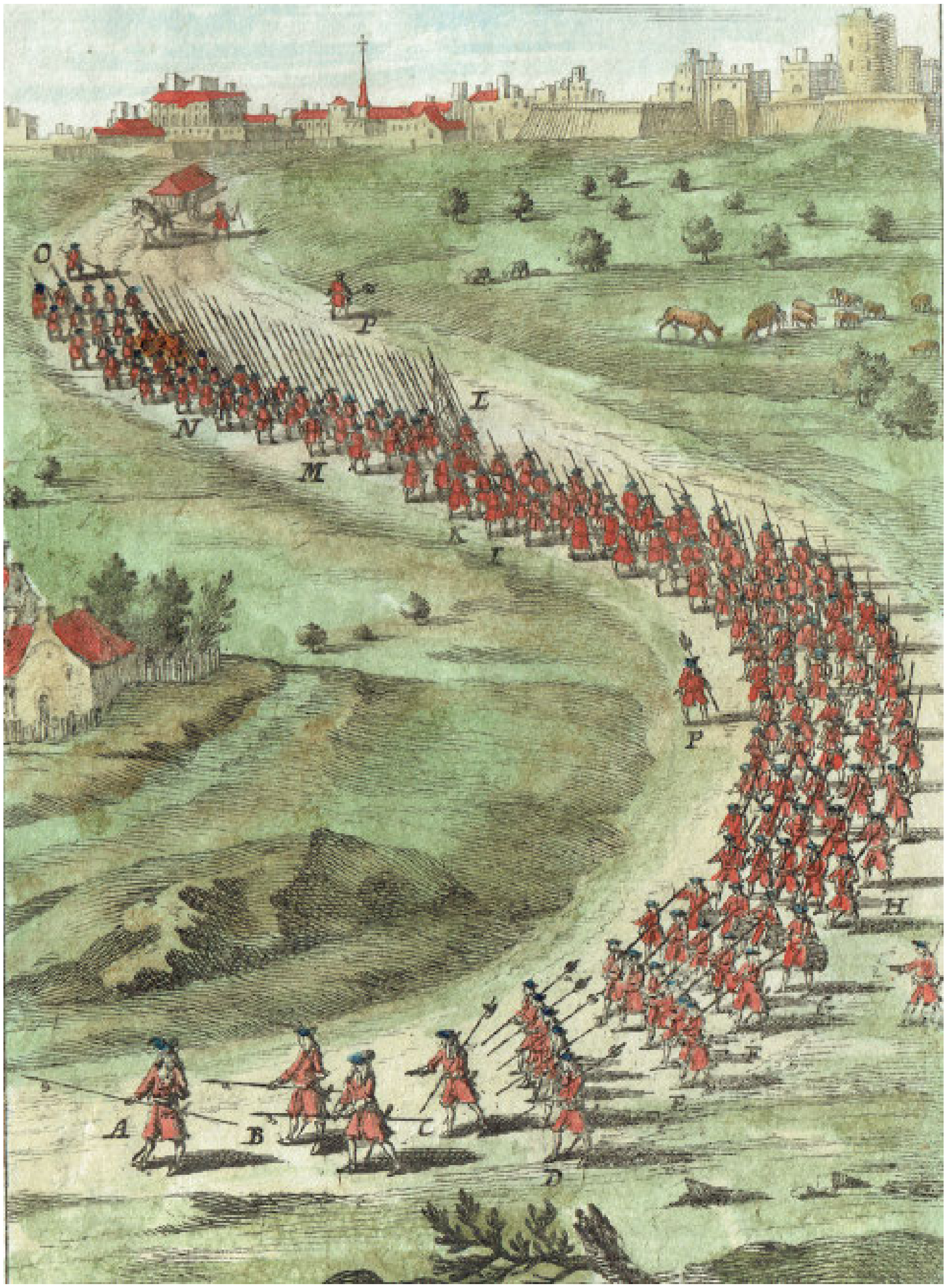
Battalion Exercises

Although the company was the basic training and organisational unit, the battalion (or battalia) was the basic battlefield formation. Normally, it was formed from a single regiment, but companies from different regiments could be merged into a composite battalion. Likewise, a large regiment could also be split into two or more battalia. The most senior officer in the battalion was the colonel, although battalions were commonly commanded by the lieutenant colonel or major.



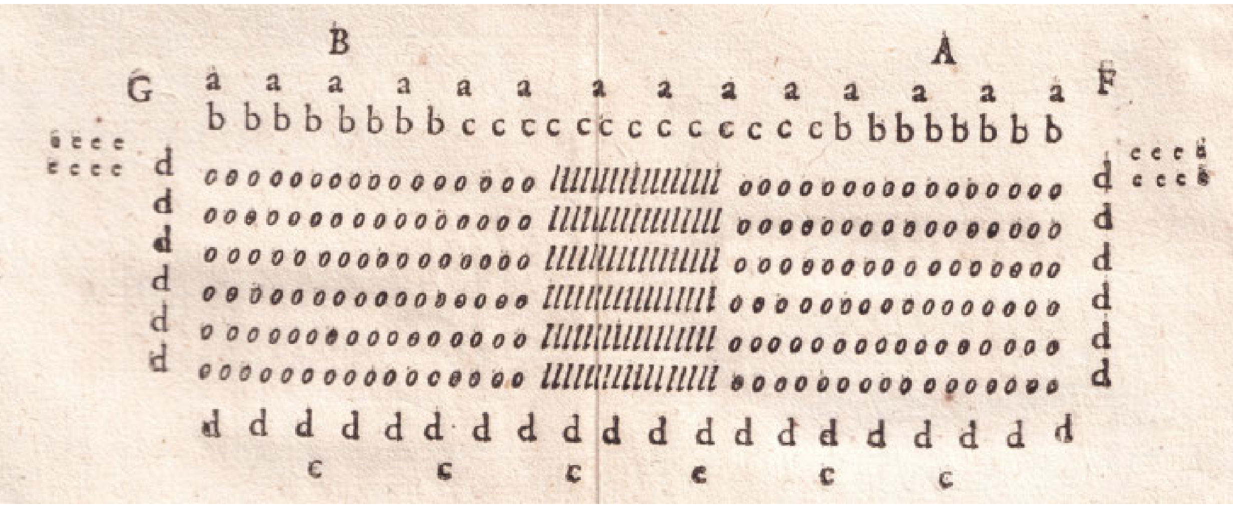
The Infantry Battalion c.1674.

To form a battalia, the component companies would assemble in line, under the command of the major or the senior captain. Each company would stand with their files at the order and ranks at the open order. The most senior company would be on the right, the next on the left and the lowest in the centre. Once every company was ready, the major would give the order to form battalia. The muskets (O) would face outwards and the pikes (L) inwards and interchange by marching until they faced the rear of another pike or musket division. This would move the musket divisions onto the wings of the battalion and the pikes into the centre. The major would then order the unit to face the front.



The Infantry Battalion in column c.1672.

Once the sergeants had ensured the spacing between files, ranks and divisions were restored, to the order for the musket divisions and close order for the pike division. Then the drummers and officers were commanded to take posts. The sergeants (D) would move to the left and right ends of each rank and to the rear of the battalia, the drummers (E) would form on the flanks in a single rank, the captains (A) stood at the front of the musket wings, while the lieutenants (B) stood at the rear of the musket blocks. Ensigns (C) would form a rank in front of the pike block, handing their colours to the man behind them. The major (F) and aide-major (G), would take post on the flanks. While the lieutenant colonel (B) and colonel (A) would stand in front of the battalion. If present the grenadier company would be on the right of the battalion, but not take part in the interchange. Now the battalion was ready for combat.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d
c c c c

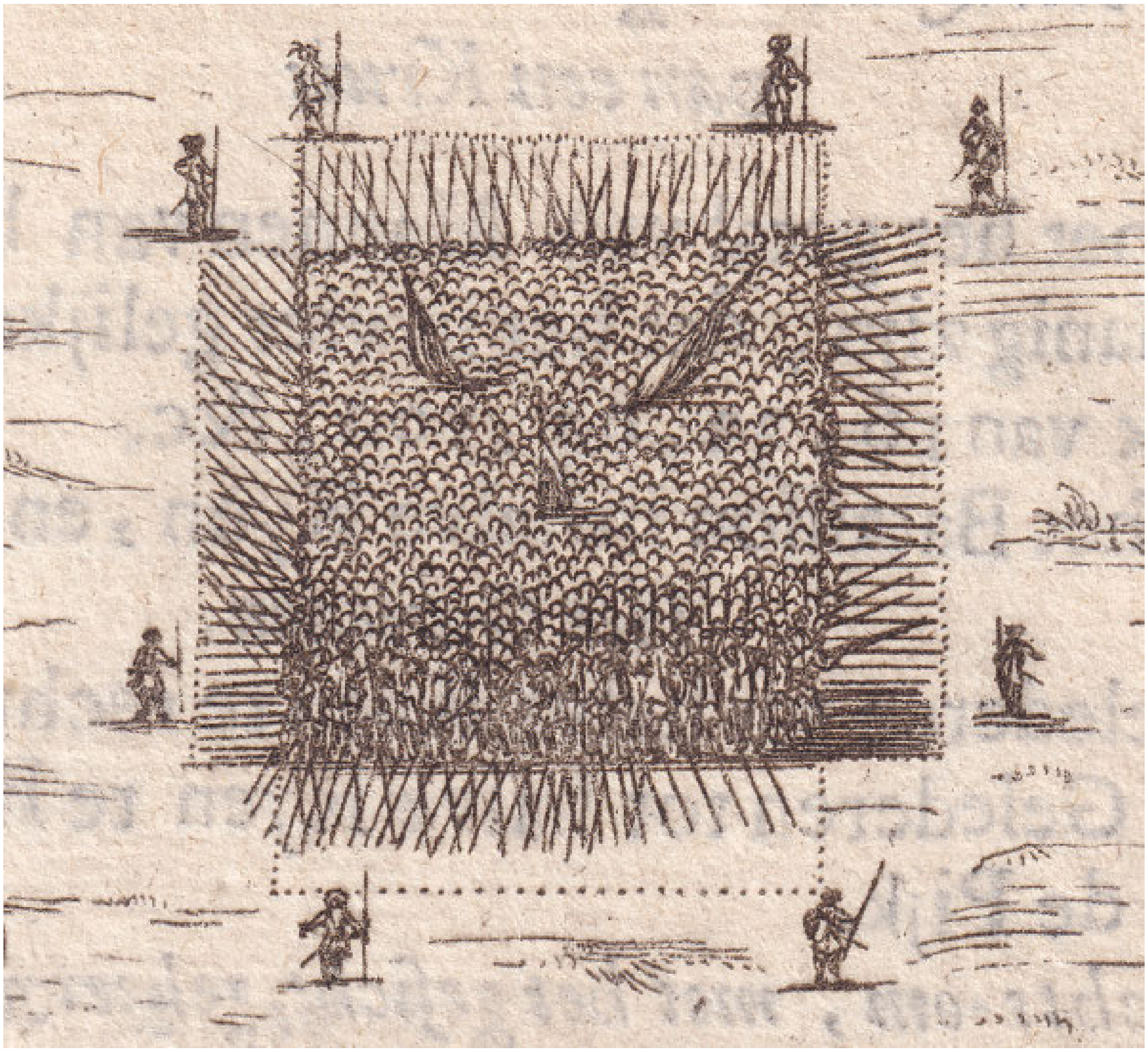
The Battalia formation c.1677.

When formed in battalia, they would march off on the left foot, at a slow pace to ensure the file spacings and gaps between divisions were maintained. When moving in battalia, there was a tendency for the line to form a shallow crescent, which, unless checked, could be disastrous. Therefore, the more raw the soldiers the more pausing was required to realign and redress the ranks and files.

For a battalia to change facing by wheeling took time, as each division wheeled into place, before the ranks and files were redressed to ensure the safe spacing was maintained. Very experienced soldiers could be wheeled with little need to redress their lines, but even then, the inter-divisional spacing needed to be maintained. It was for this reason that the line of battle was critical, with the most experienced battalions on the flanks of the army, or in the reserve line.

Forming Square

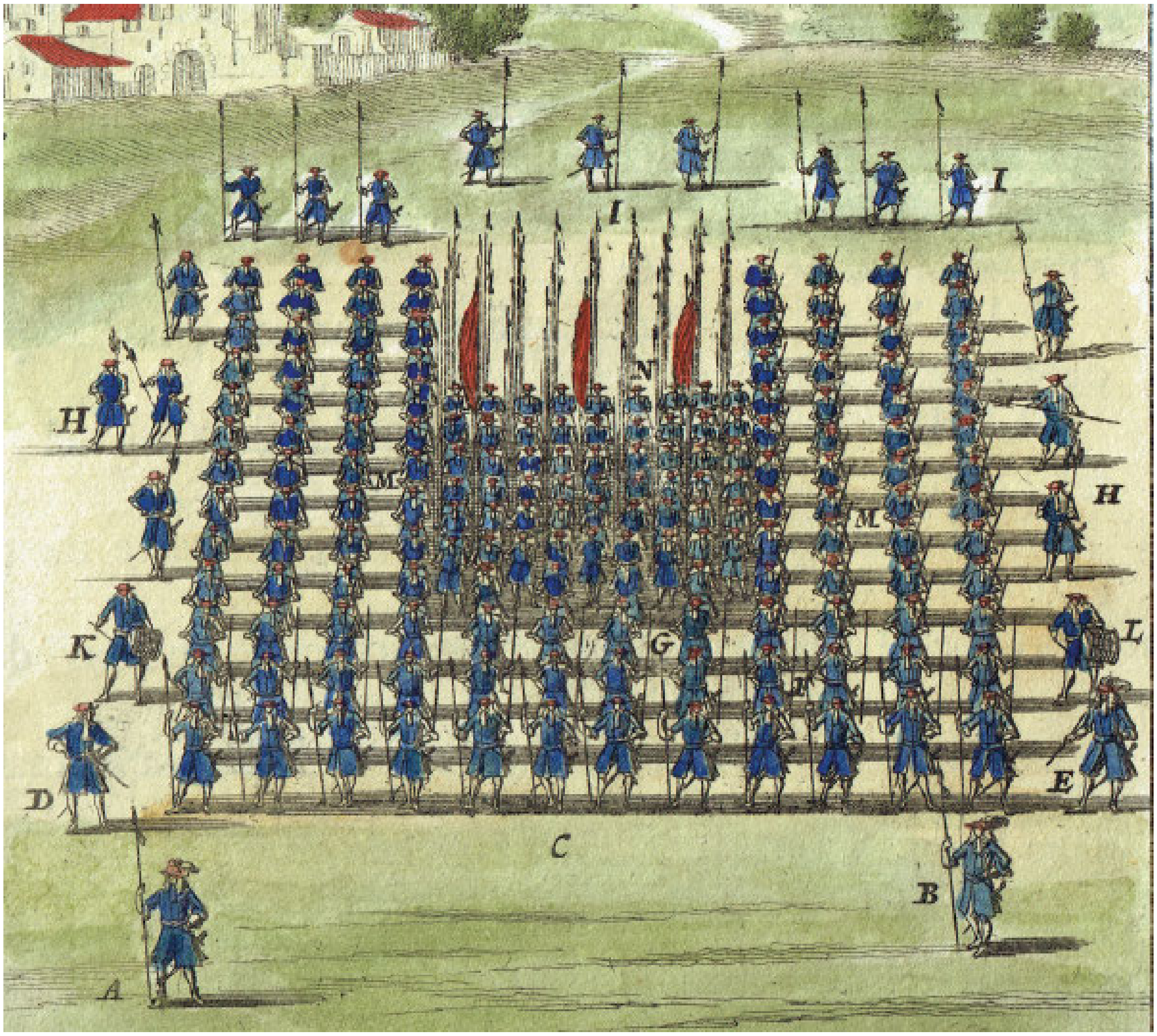
Only the most experienced and well-trained units could form a square to repel a cavalry attack. This would require the divisions to perform multiple wheels, turns, sub-divisions and doublings. The complexities of this movement would result in the pike divisions forming a two-rank hollow square facing outwards, with the colours, drums and field officers in the centre. Around this, in three ranks would be the musketeers, while the grenadiers would be split into four subdivisions, one in each corner. This procedure could take five minutes to complete and when in a square the battalia could move.



Infantry Battalia in a square c.1672.

‘The Street Fighting Way’

The alternative to the square was the formation called the ‘street-fighting way.’ This was fast to adopt and could be used if attacked by cavalry, moving into a town held by the enemy, or when defending a barricade. Importantly, this formation could be used by individual companies or the whole battalia. The stand of pikes would be ordered to double its files. The musket wings would be ordered to countermarch, which would bring them behind the rear rank of pikes and then they would face inwards. This would bring the musket wings behind the pike division, with the drums and colours between the pike and musketeers. The pikes would then open their order to cover the frontage of the musketeers. The sergeants would turn the front two ranks of muskets outwards and march them to the front of the pike stand, by wheeling around the flanks. On arrival, they would then face forwards. The result was two ranks of muskets, three ranks of pikes, the drums and colours in a single rank and four ranks of muskets to the rear.



Infantry Battalia marching with pikes in the centre c.1672.

To fire, the front rank of muskets would kneel, present and the pikes would charge or port over the shoulders of the musketeers. When the musketeers fired and recovered, the pikes would advance allowing the front rank to wheel to the rear. Then the second rank would step forward and a new rank of musketeers file in behind. Therefore, if attacked one rank of muskets was always ready, with three ranks of pikes acting as support. This formation would stop a cavalry charge or allow the unit to advance down a street within a town, albeit at a reduced rate of fire. This was the perfect formation for a mixed scythe and shot company.

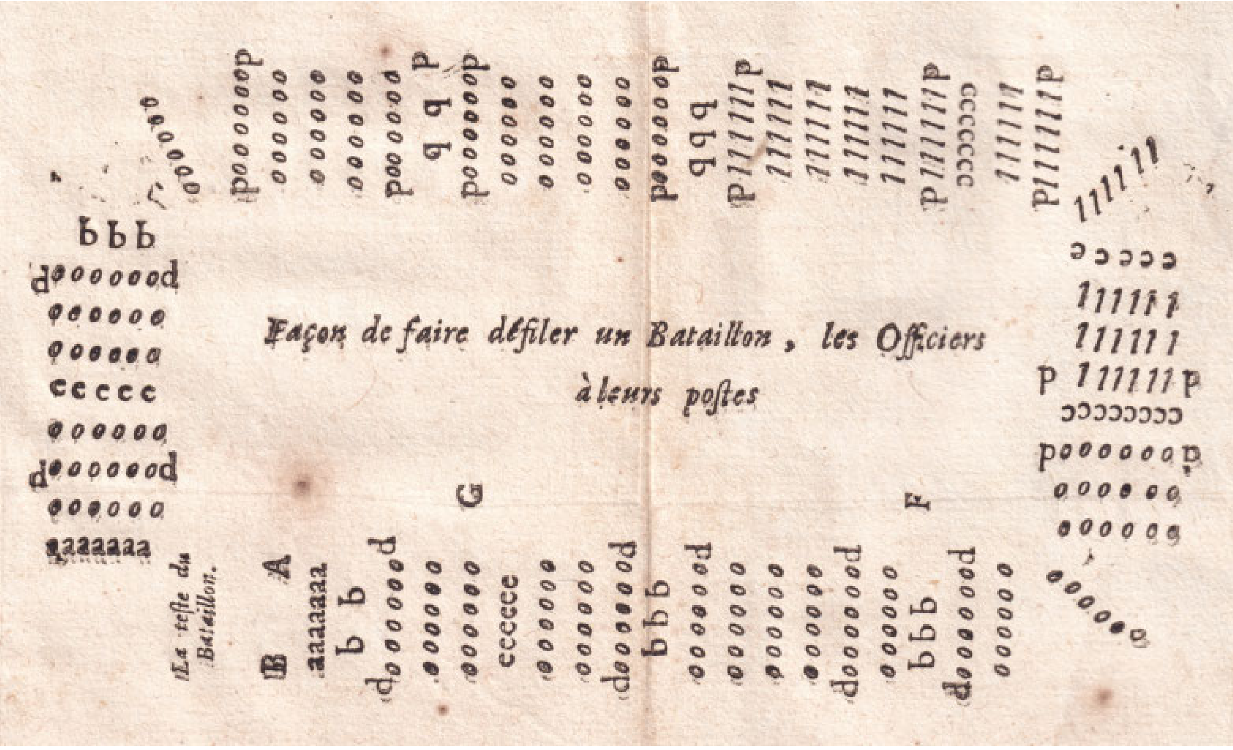
Battalion Fire

The battalion attack allowed the battalia to advance, volley fire and charge. However, before this action could take place, the grenadier company was split into three divisions and these were placed on the left and right wings and in front of the pikes. Then as the battalion marched forwards the musketeers and grenadiers were ordered to double files and once within 20 to 30 paces of the enemy, the battalion stood.

The front rank of the musketeers and grenadiers knelt. Then the rear two ranks of the grenadier divisions would fire, followed by the rear two ranks of the musket wings. Next, the rear two ranks of grenadiers would deliver their grenades and then insert their plug bayonets. The front rank of muskets would stand, the grenadiers would fire, then the musketeers, then the grenadiers delivered their grenades and then plugged their muskets. With musketeers clubbing muskets and the pikes at the charge, the battalia moved into combat.

The alternative was for the battalia to move forward in a solid line to within 20 paces of the enemy, where the officers withdrew. After which the musket wings would fire by advancing ranks, by rank rotation, or by the high-risk French volley method.

Deploying from Line of March


Façon de faire défiler un Bataillon, les Officiers à leurs postes
La teste du Bataillon.
A
B
G
F

Battalion marching by division.

When the battalion was marching in divisions, the files would normally be at the close order and the ranks at double distance. At the head of the battalion was the grenadier company followed by the colonel (A) and lieutenant colonel (B). The captains (A) are at front and at the rear of the column. The lieutenants (B) march at the front of the divisions of musketeers (O), then the pike (L) divisions and finally at the rear would be the second shot wing. The ensigns (C) would stand at the head of the pikes, the drummers (E) were in the third rank of each leading division. The major (F) and aide-major (G), would take post on the flank of the column.

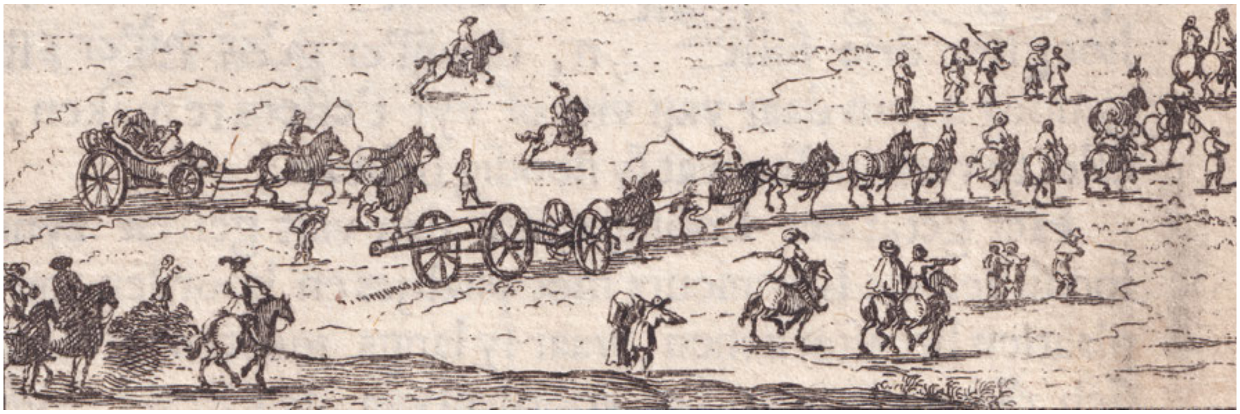
If the battalion was to deploy to the left of the line of march, then the grenadier company would wheel left and then each of the three divisions would wheel right to face to the front, in line. The shot wing would wheel left behind the grenadiers and then each division would wheel right into line, to the left of the grenadiers. The stand of pike would follow in turn, wheeling left and then right by divisions into line. Finally, the rear shot wing would wheel and then march behind the battalion, to the other side of the pike and then wheel right by division into line. If the battalion was to form a line to the right, the procedure would be reversed with the grenadiers standing on the left of the line.

Once in line, the drummers would be withdrawn from the divisions and the battalion ordered to face to the left and open its order by marching slowly forwards, with the sergeants stopping the files when the correct spacing was set, including between the divisions. It is at this stage that any minor re-alignment of the battalion line was possible. Once the whole battalion had dressed its ranks, the soldiers were ordered to face to the front and the ranks dressed again. Then the officers, drummers and sergeants would take post and the battalion was back in battalia.

Artillery

The Artillery Organisation

The artillery was not part of the army establishment but under the control of the Ordnance Department. Master gunners, gunners and labourers were all civilians, employed by the master of ordnance. When on campaign, the ordnance was commanded by the comptroller or the captain of artillery. While the pieces of ordnance were formed into light, field or siege brigades or trains, commanded by a commissionaire or lieutenant of artillery. The term battery refers to a fixed group of pieces in a firing position. Each brigade would contain four to eight cannon on field carriages, with the larger pieces also having travelling carriages. Alongside these would be a range of other carts or caissons with ammunition, equipment and ammunition wagons with musket balls, powder barrels, flints and match for the infantry.



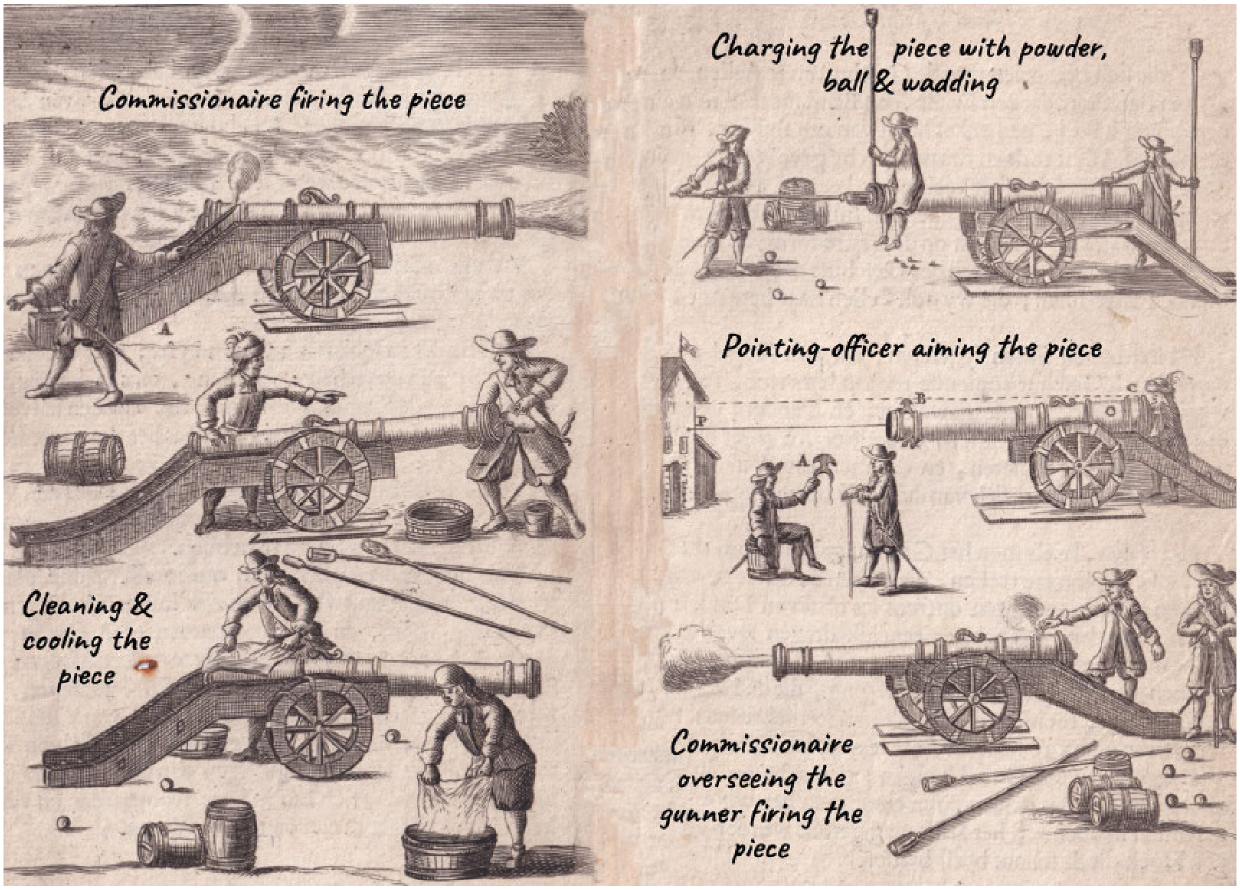
Artillery brigade on the march c.1672.

The light brigades contained falconets, falcons (or three-pounders) and they could move at the same speed as the infantry battalia. They were placed in the gaps between battalia, with their supporting train in the second battle line. This would include the wagons with spare ammunition for the infantry battalions. The rate of fire of these pieces was about eight or nine shots an hour, allowing a four-piece battery to fire a shot every 90 seconds. The maximum range of these light pieces was around 500 paces.

Next were the heavier artillery, the minions, sakers or six-pounders. These were placed in semi-static positions by the comptroller of the ordnance, covering defiles, roads or open ground. These pieces needed a team of horses to move them on field carriages. The rate of fire was about six shots an hour, allowing a four-piece brigade to fire a shot every four minutes. The maximum range of these cannon was approximately 1,000 paces.

When on the march, the leading wagon of the artillery brigade would be a carriage containing 100 mattocks, 100 spades and100 billhooks. After this came the pieces of ordnance, each mounted on a carriage. Each piece would have a small chest between the two flanges of the carriage containing 30 ready-made cartridges plus ball and tin shot. These tin boxes were six inches deep, sized to fit the bore of the piece and filled with musket balls. These would be in addition to the 300 balls and powder carried in the caissons that followed the pieces. These wagons also carried barrels of flints, bags of match and musket balls. Next came a spare carriage with the A-frame and two pairs of arms for lifting the barrels on and off the carriages, followed by two carts each loaded with 12 hundredweight of clean powder. Then there would be three caissons each with 300 cannonballs, 20 ready-made cartridges and several packs of fuses. Then came two carts each with three tons of powder, three barrels of lead balls, two bags of match and one barrel with musket flints. The final wagon would contain the officer’s equipment.

Firing Exercises


Commissionaire firing the piece
Charging the piece with powder, ball & wadding
Pointing-officer aiming the piece
Cleaning & cooling the piece
Commissionaire overseeing the gunner firing the piece
A
A
B
C
P

Artillery crew loading & firing a siege piece c.1672.

The commissionaire would be responsible for placing and firing the cannon on the orders of the comptroller. The master gunner or ‘pointing officer’ would direct the gunners loading and aiming each piece and on the orders of the commissionaire, discharge each piece in turn. The labourers would bring up extra ammunition, manhandle the piece back into position and replace any fallen or exhausted gunners. The pieces would fire in sequence, rather than in a single volley, with battery fire (firing at a fixed location) being reserved for sieges.

The Train of Artillery

In addition to the artillery brigades, a separate train of artillery marched in the centre of the army. This was not the same as the baggage train. The train of artillery contained the spare equipment and ammunition for the army along with the other military essentials. This included tools for entrenchments and the magazine full of powder barrels, grenades, fuses, musket balls, match and flints. This train fell under the command of the captain of artillery, a commissionaire or the comptroller.

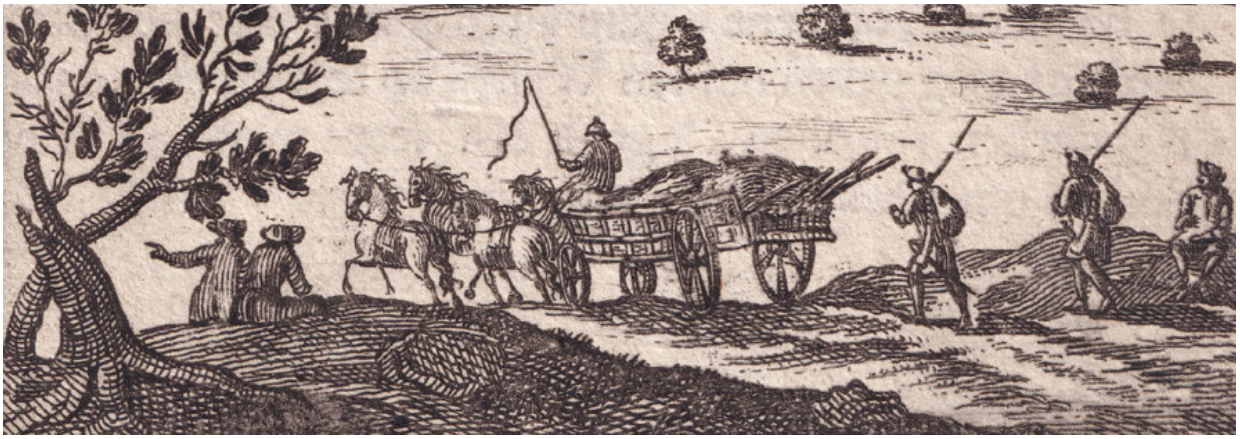
The Artillery Train & Guards. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

A carriage with the tools to be used by the pioneers was attached to the train. There should have been one ammunition cart for each battalion loaded with three tons of powder, three barrels of lead ball, two bags of match and one barrel with flints. Then there came a cart with hog grease for the axles, several trolleys full of sacks and ropes. Then a caisson with small items such as grenades, sacks, lines, double extensions and a barrel of flints. Then there would be wagons full of spare muskets and pikes, followed by a caisson loaded with 300 axes. There would also be wagons containing the canvas, poles and pegs for the field officer's tents and sometimes for the infantry as well. Finally, came several carts with tools and possibly a complete forge and a carriage loaded with iron. The train of artillery would be guarded by a designated infantry company.

Supply Train

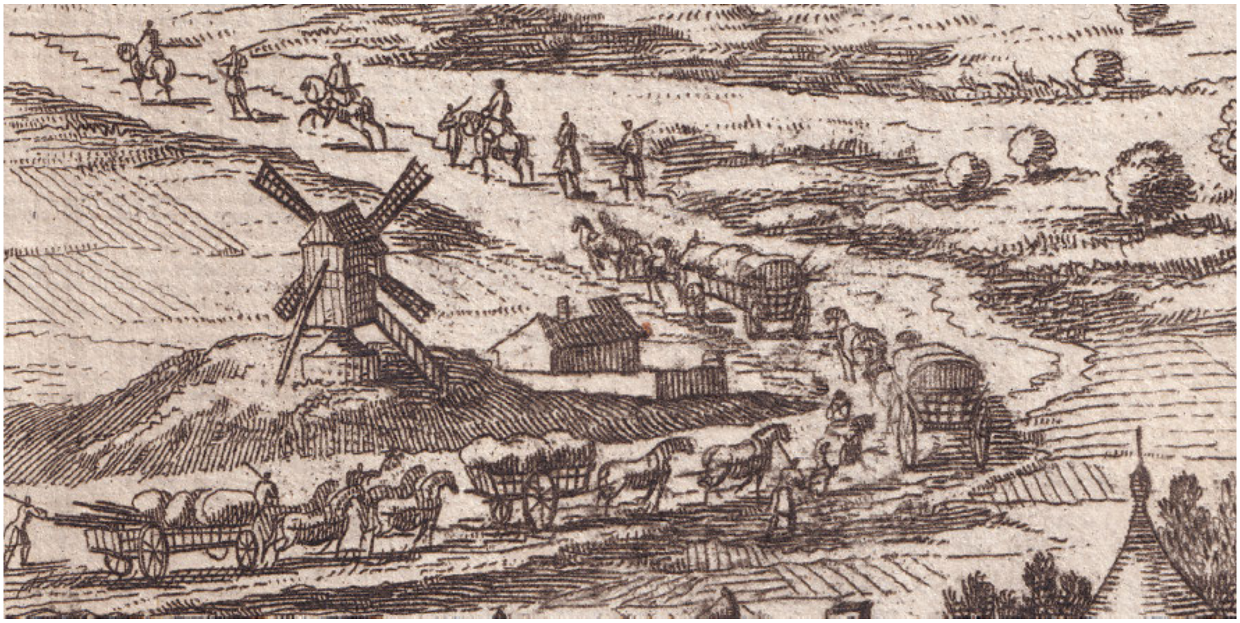
A general would need to take care of his supplies and would never let his army run out of provisions. Therefore, he would appoint a commissionaire of supplies, who needed to know the number of men they had to feed. They choose a clean place to store and distribute the 'ammunition bread'. To do this, there needed to be a good supply of wheat and bakers. The mixture for 'ammunition bread' was two-thirds wheat and one-third rye. Each bushel of this grain weighed about 18 pounds and this became three pounds of bran and 15 pounds of flour. This was mixed with 10 pounds of water and the resulting dough weighed 25 pounds. Eleven ounces of dough was the equivalent of 10 pounds of stale bread. Each soldier was given one loaf of bread weighing three pounds, a pint of beer and a pound of meat for two days on the road.

Each bread wagon was pulled by four strong horses and carried 1,500 loaves of bread. However, there needed to be three times this number of wagons to carry the supplies for a day. One third would be going to the towns to collect grain, the other third returning full and the final third carrying the bread ready to distribute. To ensure these wagons were not lost, the major general would need to provide a guide, together with a strong escort for each convoy. To ensure the steady provision of supplies to the army, the commissionaire of supplies needed to be completely aware of the army's line of march.



The supply train c.1672.

Baggage Train



The baggage train c.1672.

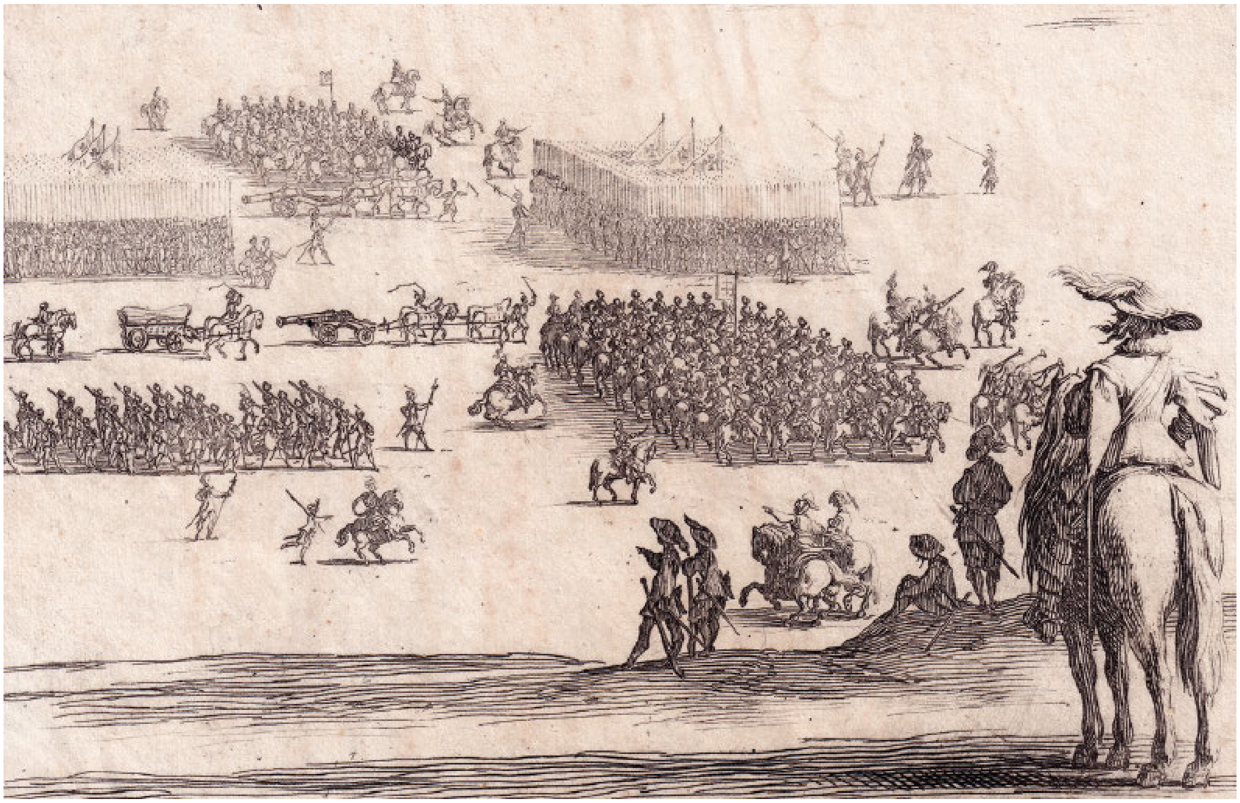
The baggage train was split into three parts, namely the vanguard, the main body and rearguard. These contained the baggage for units in these divisions of the army. The wagons containing the general officer’s equipment would be at the head of the vanguard’s baggage. After this came the baggage of the cavalry troops, according to their position in the line of march. For the infantry, the baggage followed the seniority of the regiments. The merchants and sutlers who were not allocated to a particular unit marched at the tail of the baggage. Each infantry battalion would send a sergeant and one soldier per company to escort their baggage and each troop of horse would place a trooper with their wagons.

The general appointed a provost of the baggage, who was responsible for putting the wagons into the correct order of march and then placing the baggage in a safe place on the battlefield. The provost would be assigned a troop of cavalry to maintain order and prevent stragglers or looting.

Order of March

Basic Principles

It was the duty of the major general and the adjutant general to draw up the army’s order of march. To do this, the major general provided the strengths of each cavalry and infantry regiment and their composition in terms of companies and troops. The adjutant general presented intelligence on the disposition of the enemy, the nature of the roads and the terrain that the army would cross. The adjutant general would outline the firmest and best roads for the train of artillery. The two commanders would pay particular attention to the defiles, or obstructions that needed to be crossed and how many men, horses or wagons could pass abreast.



Army on the march c.1620.

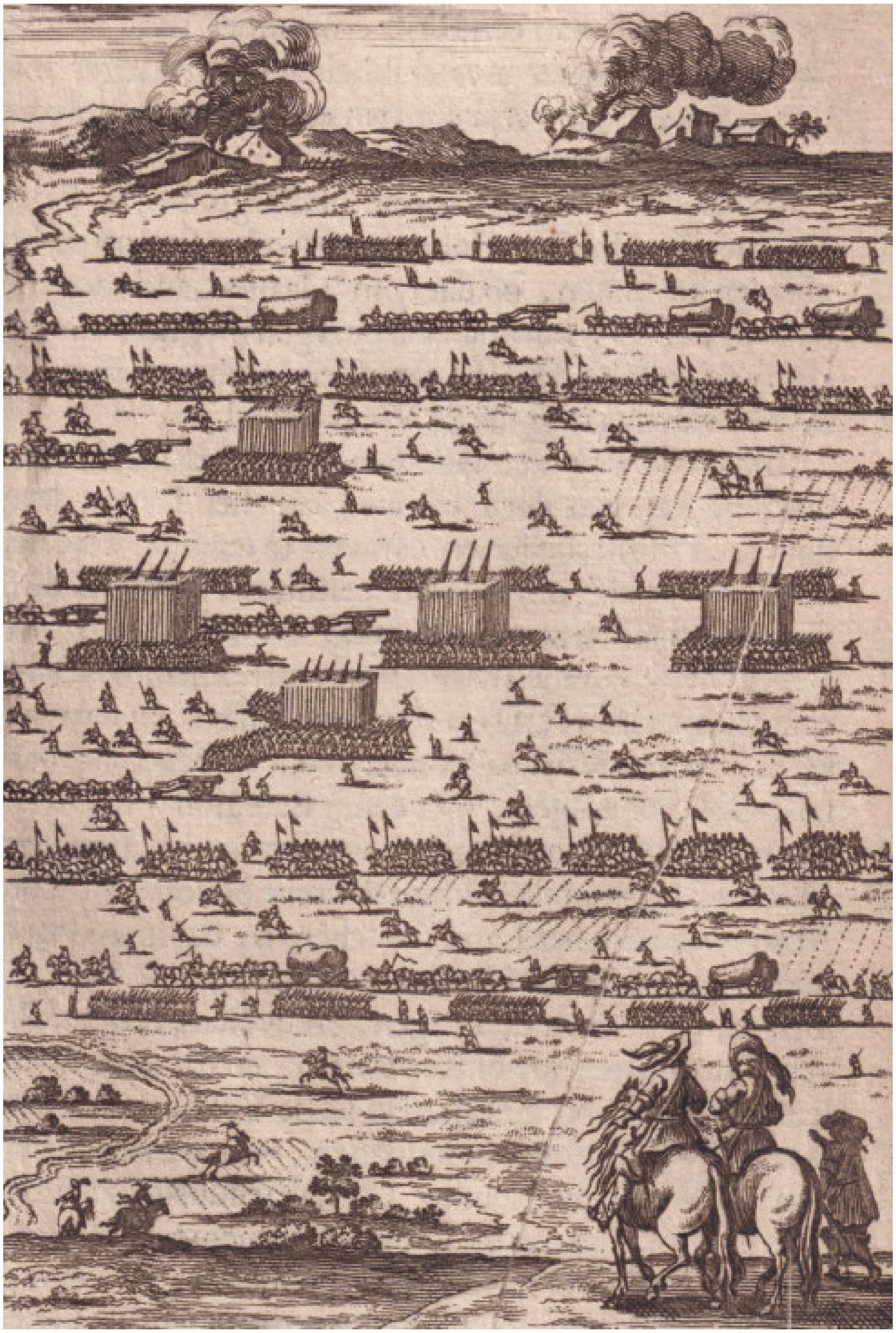
The army was split into three wings or elements. The vanguard contained the units that would form the first line of battle. The main body contained the units for the second line and finally the rearguard contained the reserve line units. Each of these wings was commanded by either a lieutenant general, the major general or a senior brigadier general.

Once the two commanders had agreed the order of march, it was taken to the general for approval. With the line of march and the army's lodgement agreed by the general, the adjutant general would ride out with a squadron of horse to scout the ground.

Moving in Open Country

When the enemy was known to be to the front and the country was open, the normal order of march was to put most of the light artillery in the vanguard, with cavalry on the flanks and the infantry in the centre, supported by the reserves. This formation would be structured to replicate the line of battle. Behind the vanguard, the main body would be formed into three or more columns with the right column formed of the battalions and troops to be deployed to the right and the left with those units for the left wing. The artillery and the artillery train would be present with the centre column.

To shorten the length of the army on the march, the supply train would follow the train of artillery. All the regimental baggage would follow the same route as the formation to which they were attached, with the baggage of the vanguard first, then the baggage of the main body and finally the baggage of the rearguard. The rearguard would march after the baggage, in the same formation as the vanguard, with a troop of horse at the very tail of the army to prevent disorder.

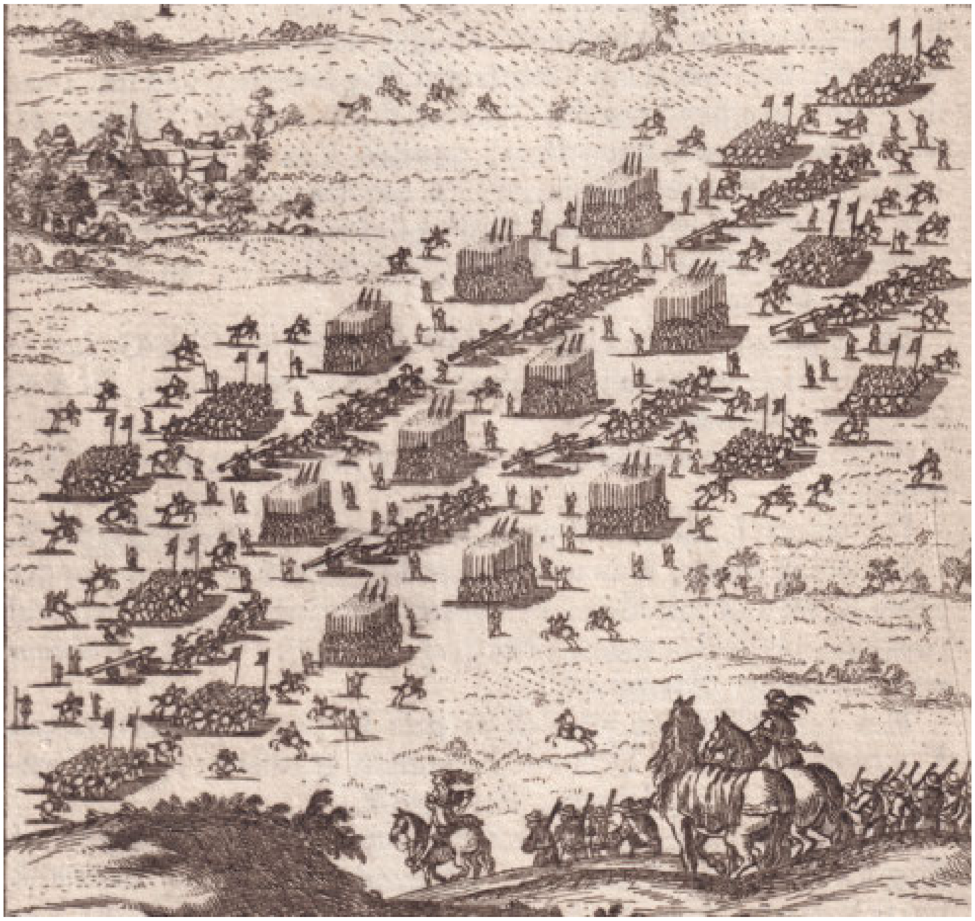


Army marching on a broad front c.1674.

When the enemy was known to be on the right flank and the country was open, the army would march in five columns. The vanguard would be on the right, the main body in the centre and the reserve on the left. Each of these bodies would have troops of cavalry at their head and tail, with the infantry in the middle. In this order of march, all the artillery would form a column between the vanguard and the main body. While marching, the vanguard would observe the correct distances between battalions and the units in the main body were aligned with these intervals in the vanguard.

The baggage would march to the left of all the troops. To ensure that the baggage column was not longer than the army, they would march on a wide front. To the left of the army would be a troop of horse to ensure stragglers did not leave the army. When the army halted to form into a line of battle, each troop or battalion would simply wheel by divisions to the right. If the enemy was on the left, the formation would be mirrored.

If the general did not fear the enemy and the country was open, then the army would normally march in two columns. The baggage and artillery would march between these two columns, with the artillery train and supply trains at the head. However, if the ground allowed the army would march in three columns. The main body would be followed by the artillery, supplies and then baggage. The rearguard would also march in three columns.

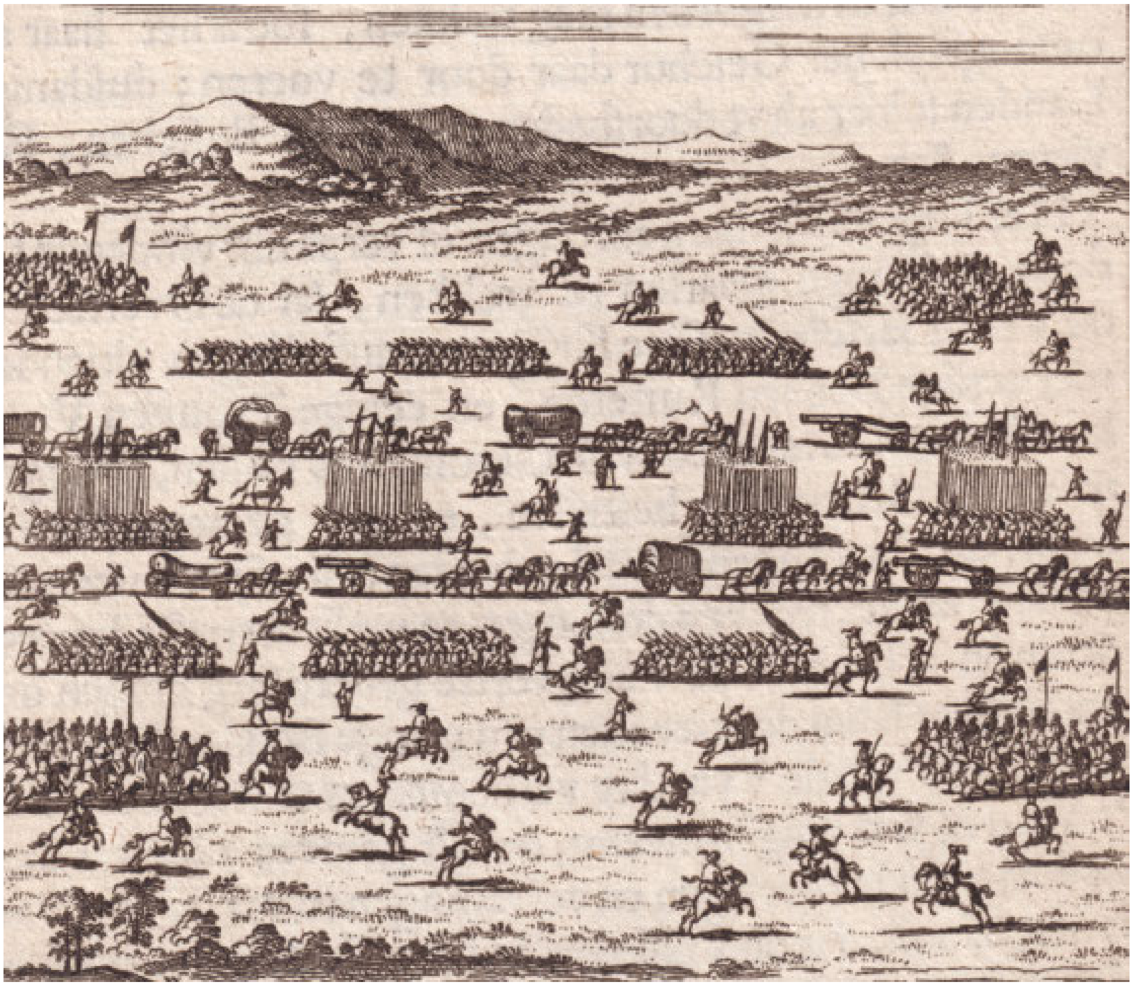


Army marching with enemy to the left c.1672.

Moving in Close Terrain

When the enemy was to the front, but the country was covered with woods, hedges or ditches, then a different order of march was adopted. The head of the army would be protected by a screen of mounted scouts, each supported by a division of musketeers. After this screen, would be either a squadron of horse or if the ground was unsuitable for cavalry, then a battalion of infantry. Both the vanguard and main body would march in multiple columns with cavalry troops and infantry battalions intermingled. At the head of each column would be a squad of pioneers with a cart of tools to make the road safe for the artillery. Each column would be organised so that troops of horse were accompanied by a division of musketeers or a battalion. The light pieces would march with the vanguard and the field pieces with the main body.

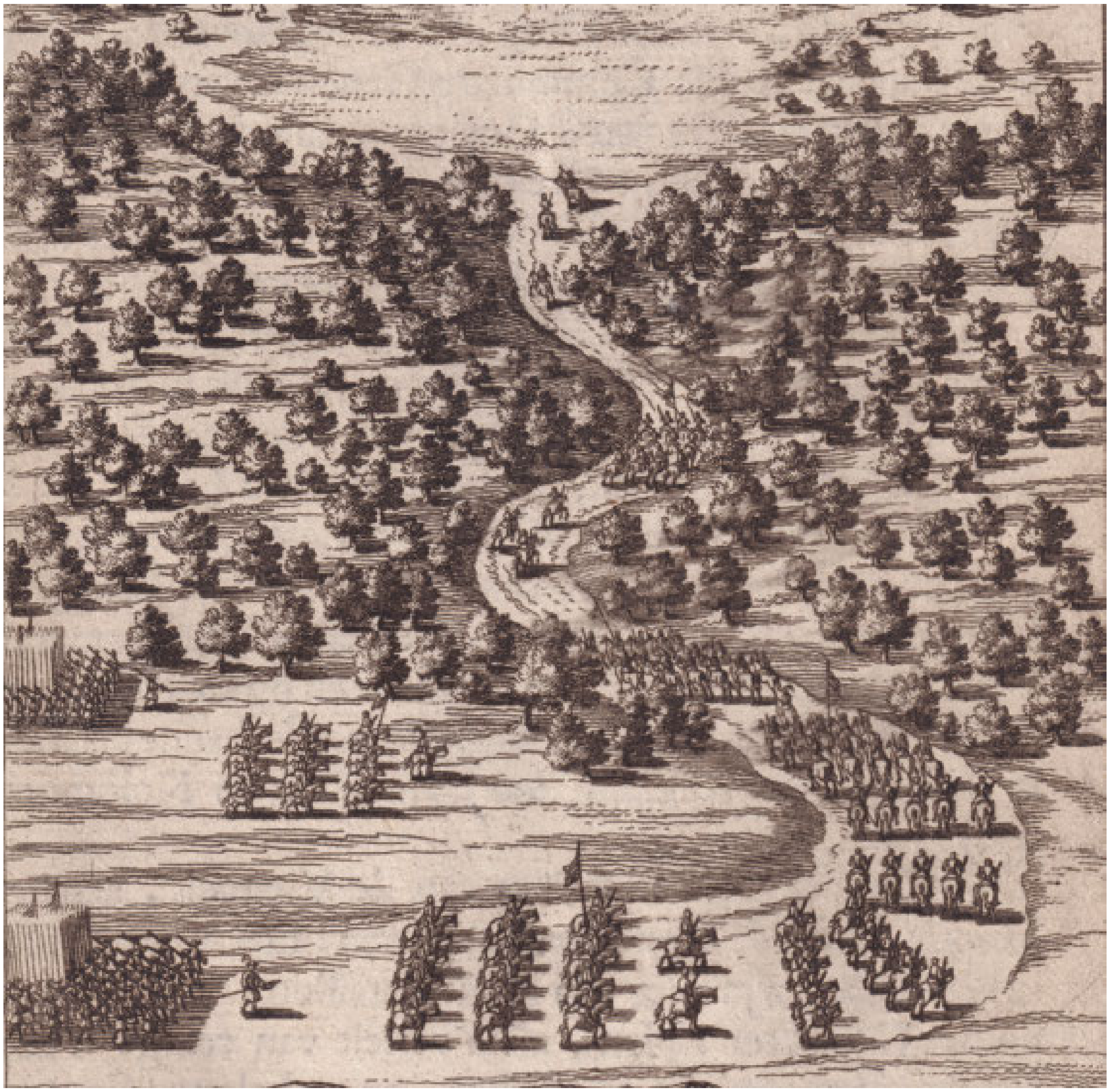
Behind the main body would come the siege guns, the train of artillery, the provisions and finally, the baggage. It was considered risky for the larger artillery pieces to be placed amongst the cavalry and infantry when marching through areas of close terrain, because if attacked, they would prevent the army from deploying into a battle line. The commanders would detach infantry divisions to fill the intervals between the baggage. The rearguard would then follow in the same order as the vanguard. If possible, the rearguard would contain one or two batteries of light artillery.



Army marching in three intermixed columns c.1674.

When the roads were narrow and the enemy nearby, the order of march would be arranged so that it could form a line of battle as soon as it emerged from the close terrain. If there were several paths to follow, the army would march in two or three columns, but at the head of each column would be a cart with tools and pioneers. As it took more time to find an alternative path than it did repairing an existing road, the column would wait while the road was repaired.

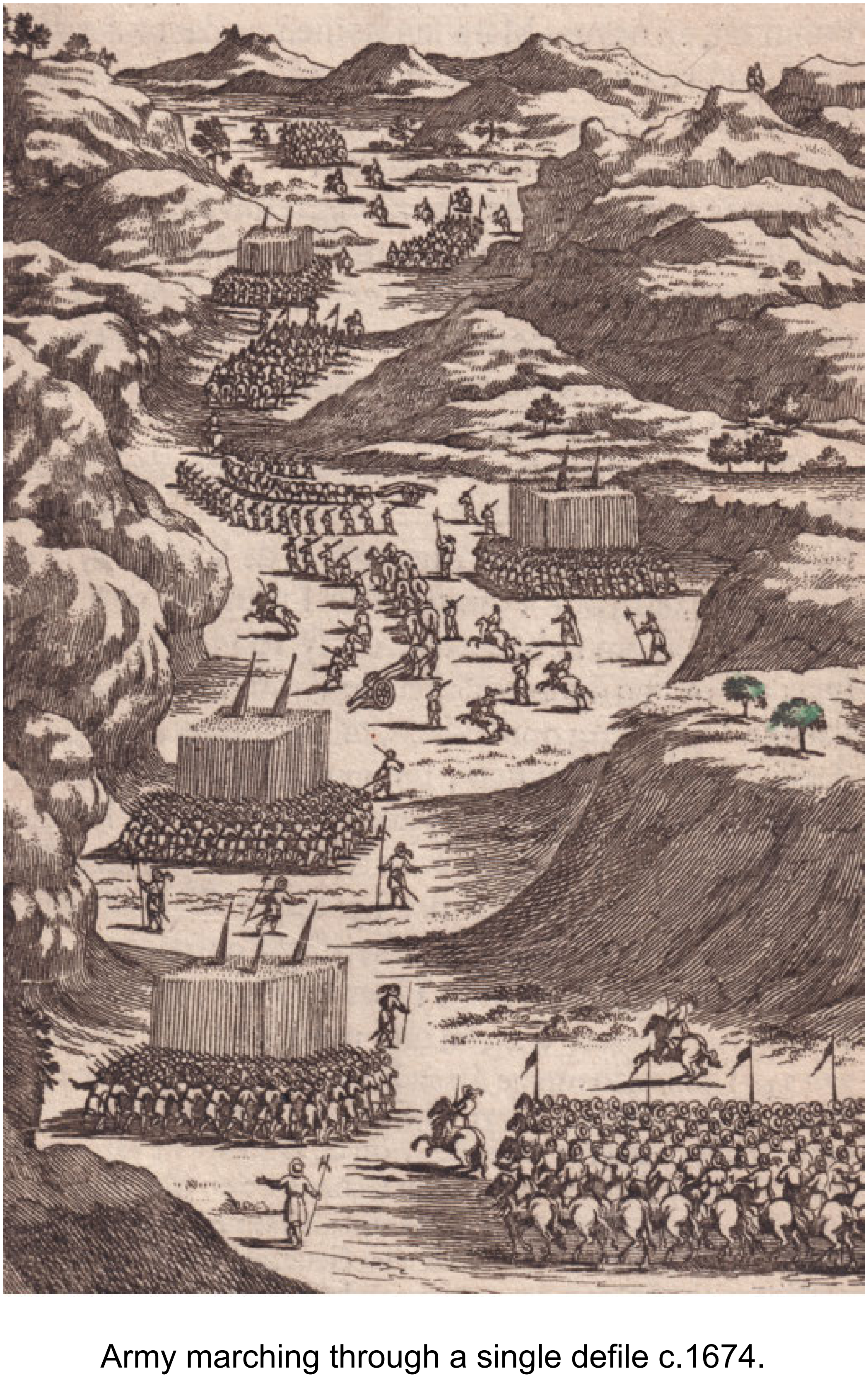
When the countryside was heavily covered with woods, hedges and so forth and the enemy was on the right, the line of march would be the same order as in the open country. However, the vanguard would contain more infantry and a division of musketeers would accompany each troop of horse. The artillery would march between the columns because in close country the ordnance pieces could not support the army and they ran the risk of capture. If there were not enough roads, then the army would cut new paths rather than endangering the security of the army.



Vanguard moving through covered country c.1674.

Moving Across Obstructions

The passing of an obstruction via one or more defiles was a time of danger for the army and required special attention, be they bridges, fords or passes through hills or mountains. When an army needed to pass an obstruction using two defiles, then the right-hand crossing would be used by the soldiers and the left-hand defile by the baggage and siege artillery. The artillery would march in the intervals between battalions and troops of horse. The vanguard would cross first, then the main body and then the rearguard. The baggage would pass across the left-hand defile in the same order. However, the siege artillery would march between the baggage of the vanguard and that of the main body.



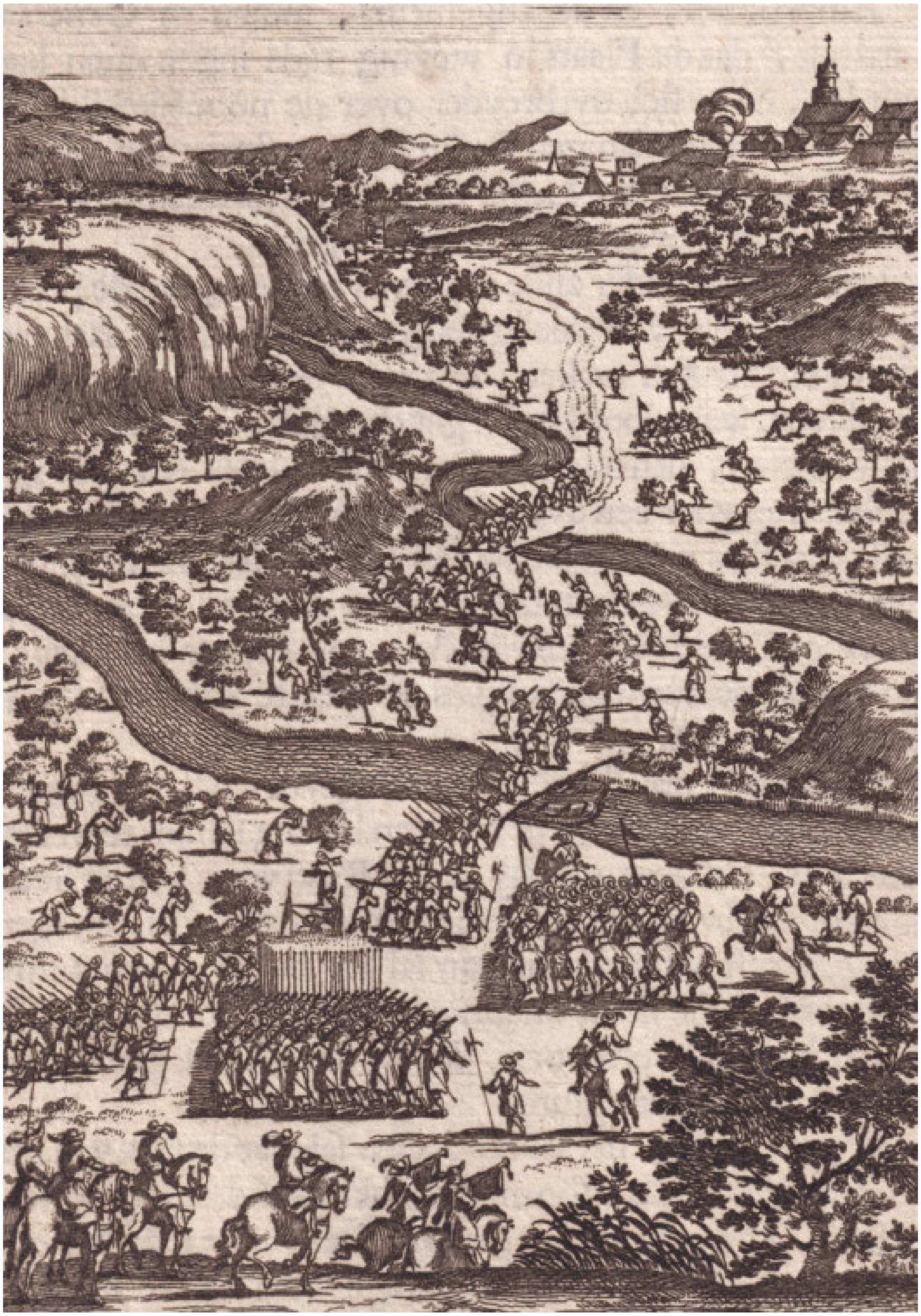
Army marching through a single defile c.1674.

If there was only one defile to use then the whole vanguard would cross in one body, then the artillery, the supply train and the baggage of the generals. After these had successfully passed the defile, then the main body and all the other baggage would cross, together with the bulk of the rearguard. This movement was dangerous, especially when the enemy was nearby. The general needed to ensure that the different elements of the army were not separated by all the baggage, as this would hinder mutual support. However, if all the soldiers marched together, then the risk was far greater because the baggage could be lost or abandoned thus preventing the army from operating and putting it in danger of defeat if attacked.

Therefore, when marching close to the enemy, the baggage would march by another defile, even if this was some distance away. In this case, a quarter or a sixth of the army would be detached under a lieutenant general to act as an escort. In addition, the army would have strong parties of cavalry or infantry on the flanks and to the front. These parties would look to discover the enemy and trip any ambushes before the main army reached the defile.

If the enemy was to the rear of the army, then the light artillery would support the rearguard. These would deploy on the flanks of the rearguard and only be withdrawn when the whole army had passed through the defile. In this situation, each battalion and troop needed to support each other, especially if the enemy launched an attack.

If the enemy was not pressing the army in covered country and there was a single defile, then the vanguard and the main body would cross, followed by the artillery, then the supply train and after this the baggage and the rearguard. If there were a number of defiles, then the vanguard and the battle would march in the same number of columns, then the baggage and finally the rearguard. The alternative was for the vanguard, main body and rearguard to use one defile, while baggage crossed by the other defile.



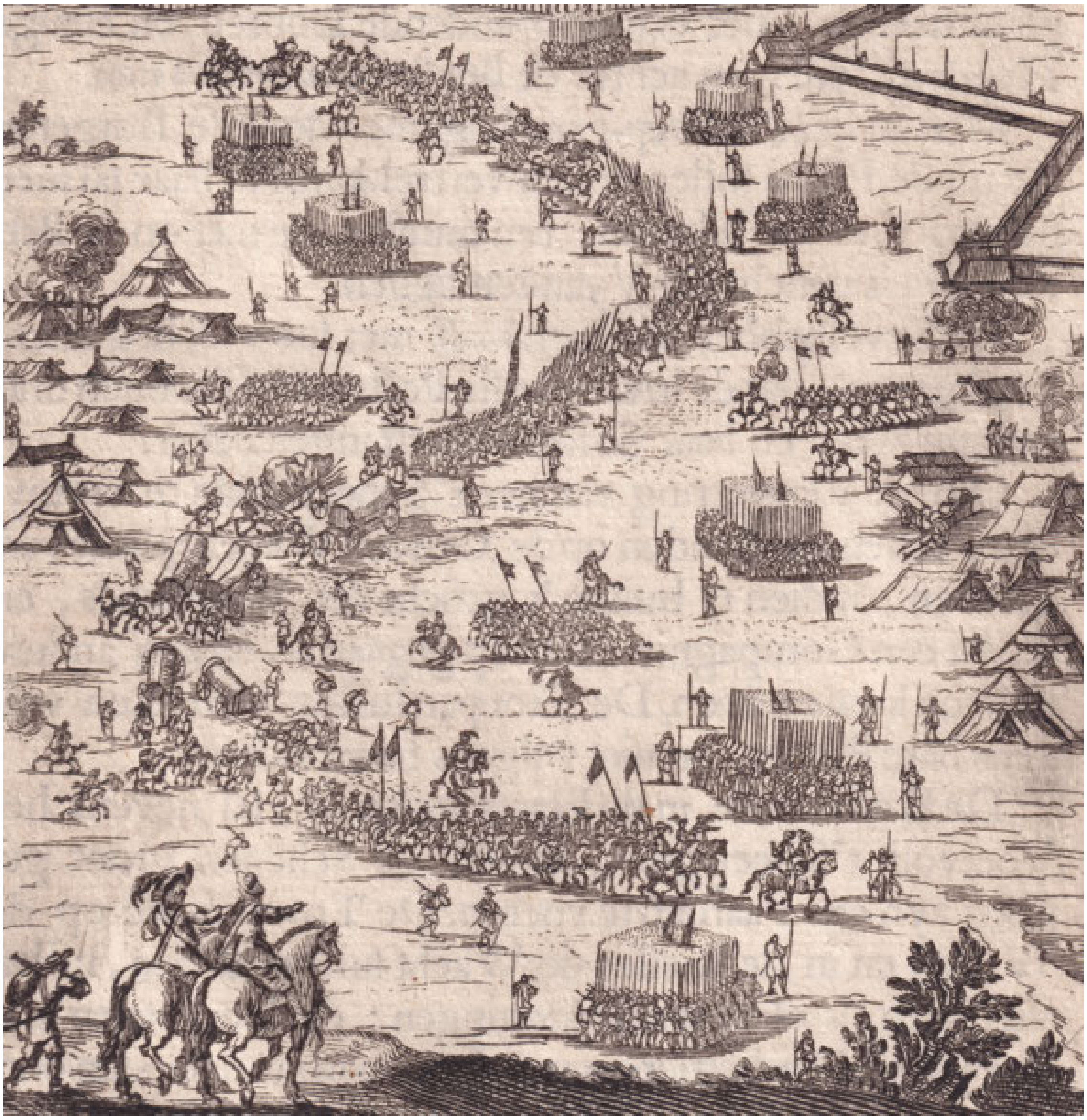
Army vanguard crossing defiles by intermixing musketeers & cavalry c.1672.

Lodgement or Encampment

Before the adjutant general left the army each day it was important for him to know the strength of each battalion, troop of horse and the artillery. The adjutant general would move off early on the morning of the march. As well as a strong guard, he would be accompanied by the quartermaster general, the scoutmaster general, a good guide and the quartermasters of each unit.

If the enemy were nearby, then the adjutant general would stay a quarter or half a league ahead of the army. If the roads were not known, he would need good guides plus an artillery officer, with a cart of tools and pioneers. These soldiers would then repair any damaged roads, clear fallen trees and strengthen any bridges. If this work was going to take time, then the adjutant general would leave a detachment to support the pioneers.

On reaching the village or land chosen for the army's lodgement, the adjutant general would check for a good supply of water, forage for the horses, space for the army to lodge and ground for drawing up the army. If the chosen location was unsuitable, then the adjutant general would scout the nearby countryside for a better location. Once the location had been agreed, the adjutant general would then deploy a greater guard. This would be placed at least half a league away, covering all the roads and lanes that approached the lodgement. This would be focused on those paths that came directly from the enemy.



Detachment guarding a supply train c.1672.

Lodging in Villages or Towns

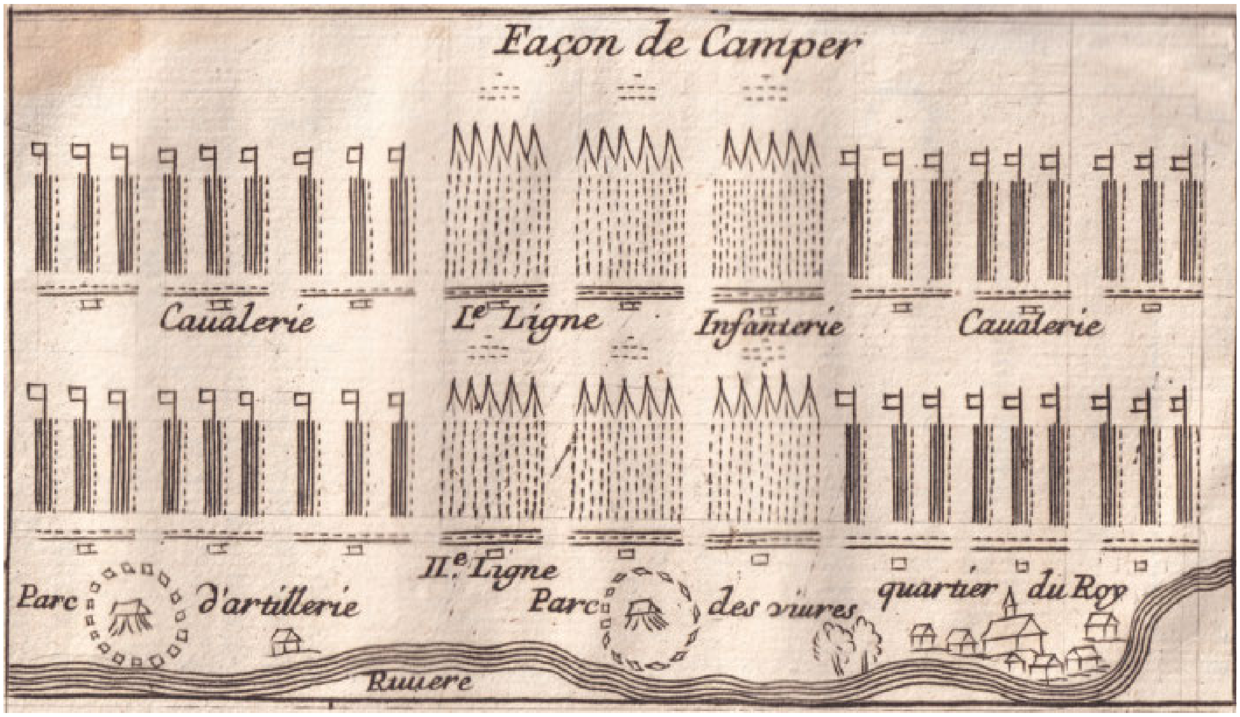
If the whole or part of the army was to lodge in a town or village, then the quartermaster general would draw up quarters for each unit. He would start by identifying the places where the general officers would be housed and then buildings were allocated for the lifeguards, the general’s staff and his baggage. After this the quartermaster general’s clerk would draw up billets for each company and troop of horse. These would then be handed to the regimental quartermasters who would write up billets for each corporal and his squad. As the regiment arrived from the line of march, the corporal would collect the billets for his men. If his squad was housed in multiple buildings, then he would issue billets to his lance-corporal and draw up a register of soldiers. The cavalry quartermasters would need to ensure horses were fed and watered. They would clear lanes so that the troopers could quickly access their mounts and reach the drawing-up space.

The regimental majors would then instruct the sergeants as to the word of the day, guard duties and the drawing-up space. The captain would then inspect his company’s billets and list any soldiers reported missing. The following morning the drummers would beat the reveille at sunrise. The soldiers would then eat and load up the baggage, before drawing up into companies and finally into battalions. After all this the battalions would join the army and move into their place in the order of march. The larger the force, the longer this process took, especially if the baggage needed to be split into columns to support the line of march. For example, a single battalion or troop could be ready within two hours, a brigade three hours, but it was common for an army to take until 11 o’clock in the morning before it was ready to move off.

Encampments

If part or all the army was to be housed in tents, then the adjutant general needed to check that the ground was suitable and could accommodate the soldiers. As a rule of thumb, 100 paces were needed for each battalion or a squadron. Then, 20 or 30 paces between the units to ease movement through the camp lines. Once the rough frontage was identified, the quartermaster general would pace out the frontage for each battalion or squadron, starting with the lodgement for the vanguard.

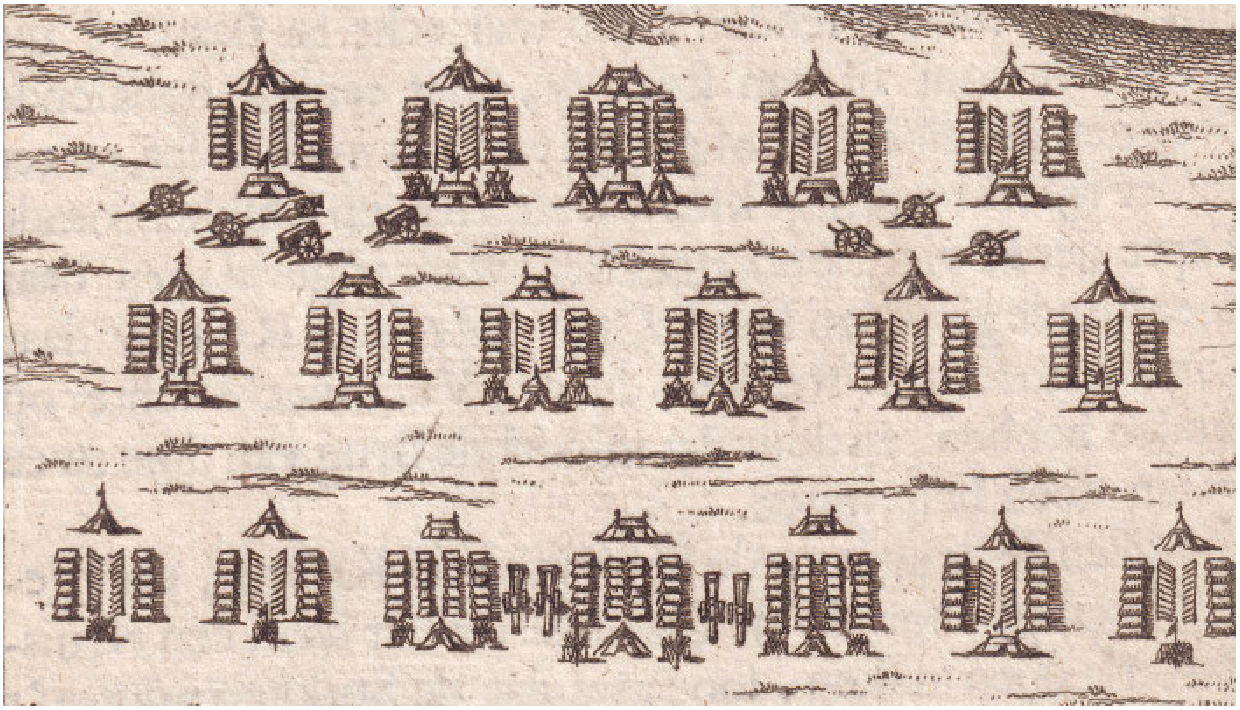
The pioneers would then peg out the plots for each company or cavalry troop. For the infantry, a file of tents for 50 soldiers took up three paces, with a lane of five paces between the files. If a company had more than 50 soldiers, then it would take up two files. The sergeants' tents would be at the head of the files, facing the enemy, while the soldiers' tents would face towards the lane. The arms would be placed six paces in front of the tent file. While the company kitchens were behind the soldiers' tents and the other side of a road three paces wide. Behind the kitchens, were the officers' quarters and beyond this was the battalion's baggage and the sutlers.


Façon de Camper
Caualerie
Iᵉ Ligne
Infanterie
Caualerie
IIᵉ Ligne
Parc d'artillerie
Parc des viures
quartier du Roy
Riuiere

Army Encampment c.1677.

The depth of the battalion lodgement was approximately 120 paces. The process was the same for each squad of a cavalry troop, but with additional space for the horses to be picketed facing each tent, on the other side of the lane. In front of each battalion tent line was a drawing-up space at least 90 paces deep. This layout allowed the companies or troops to file down their lane, pick up arms and form up without disorder. As a result, the army could be formed into the line of battle or line of march within 30 minutes of the order to move.

Like the other arms, each artillery brigade would be camped in two or three files with their pieces at the head of the unit. They would be placed either together with the artillery park or in their position in the line of battle. The artillery park would be established in the middle of the reserve line, or a secure place on one of the wings. This would contain the artillery train and any siege artillery. The army supply train would be encamped near the artillery park and usually made a circle of their wagons to enclose their horses. However, if the enemy were nearby then these wagons would be used to enclose the artillery park.

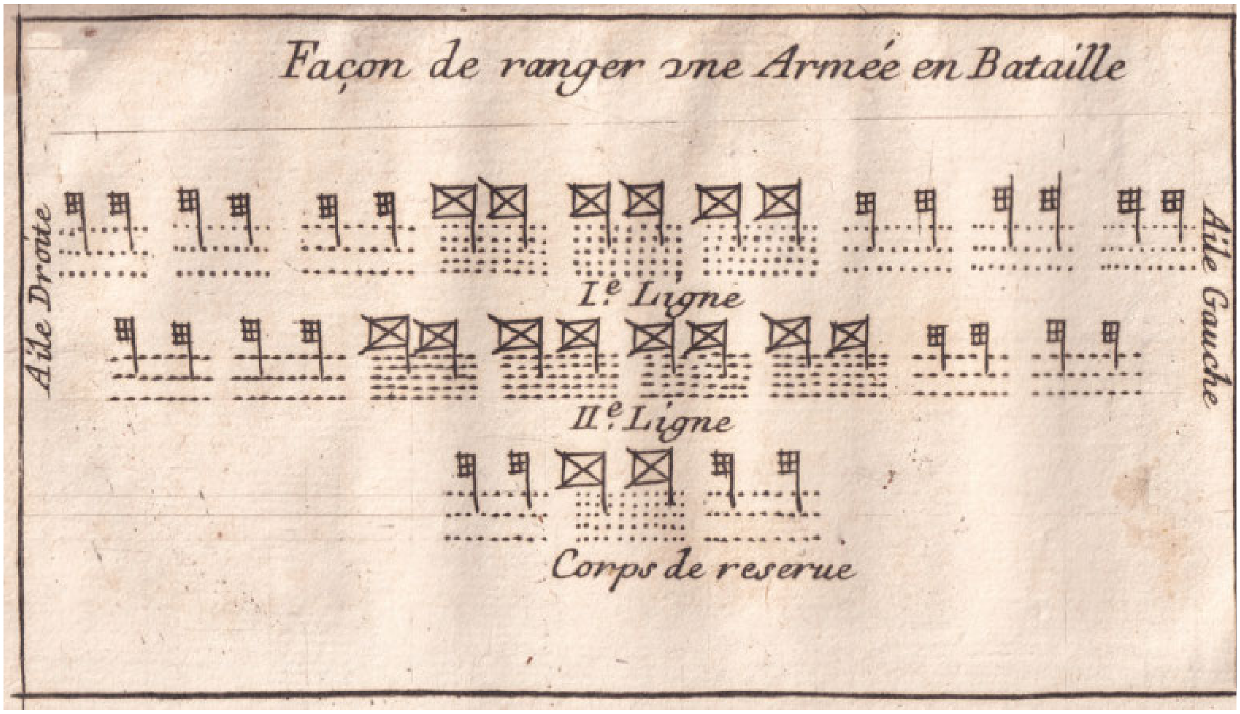


Intermixed lodgement c.1672.

Line of Battle

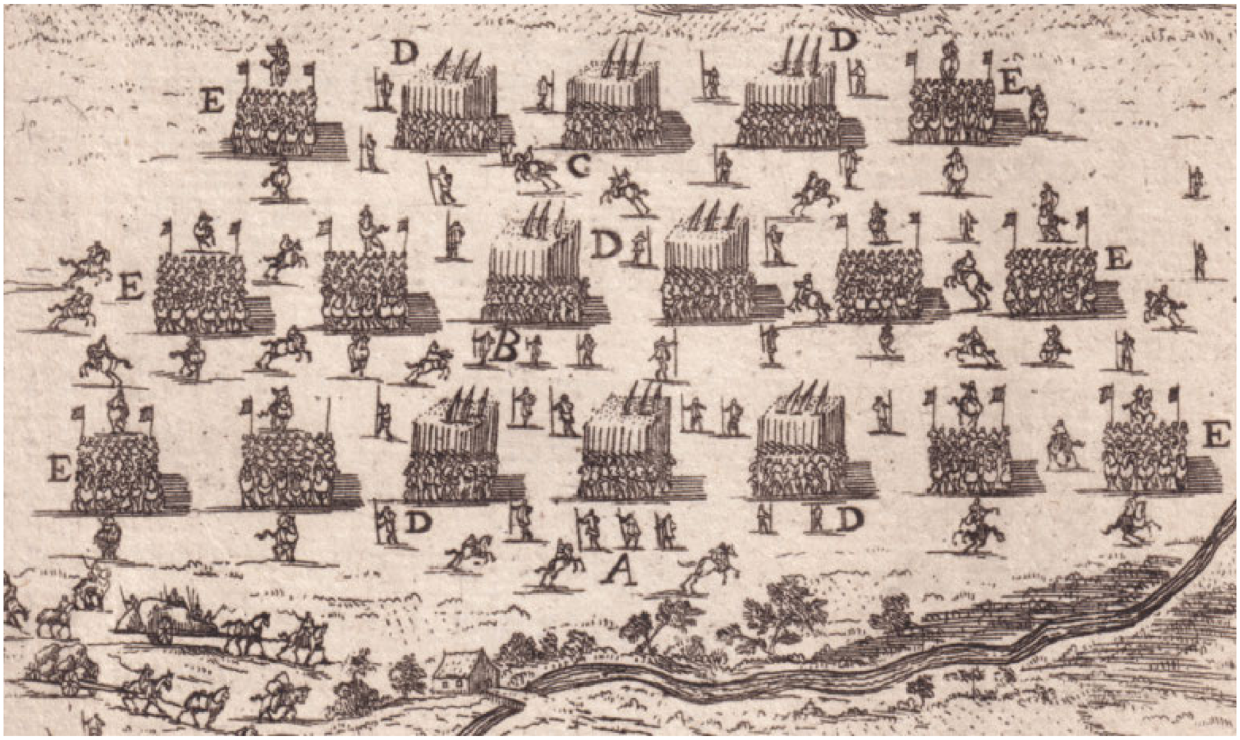
Before any battle, the general would call a council of war and if the council judged it wise to hazard a battle, then the general would choose the best battlefield for the quality and size of his army. If the cavalry outnumbered the infantry, then the general would look to the open plain. However, if he had more infantry than cavalry then he would select a place with streams or hedges. The general would always look to seize the most advantageous positions, exposing his enemy to all the inconveniences of the land.

Generals would typically place artillery at the front of the army and arrange his troops in two lines of battle, with a reserve. Normally, the cavalry would be on the wings of the infantry. Here they would cover the flanks of the army and protect the infantry lines. However, if the ground was rough or the enemy was far superior in cavalry, then troops of horse could be interspersed with the infantry battalions. This allowed for the cavalry to protect the flanks of the infantry, permitting them to advance without fear.



Army in line of battle with cavalry on the wings c.1677.

While deploying into the line of battle, each unit in the front would ensure that they were correctly spaced, leaving a gap of 60 or 70 paces between formations. The units in the second line needed to be arranged in such a way that they covered the gaps in the first line. This allowed for the battalions or troops in the first line to retire without disordering the units in the second line. However, it also allows the second line to support the first by counter-attacking. These gaps enabled disordered units to rally behind the second line and return to the fight. It is for this reason that the best or most senior units were deployed on the flanks of each battle line.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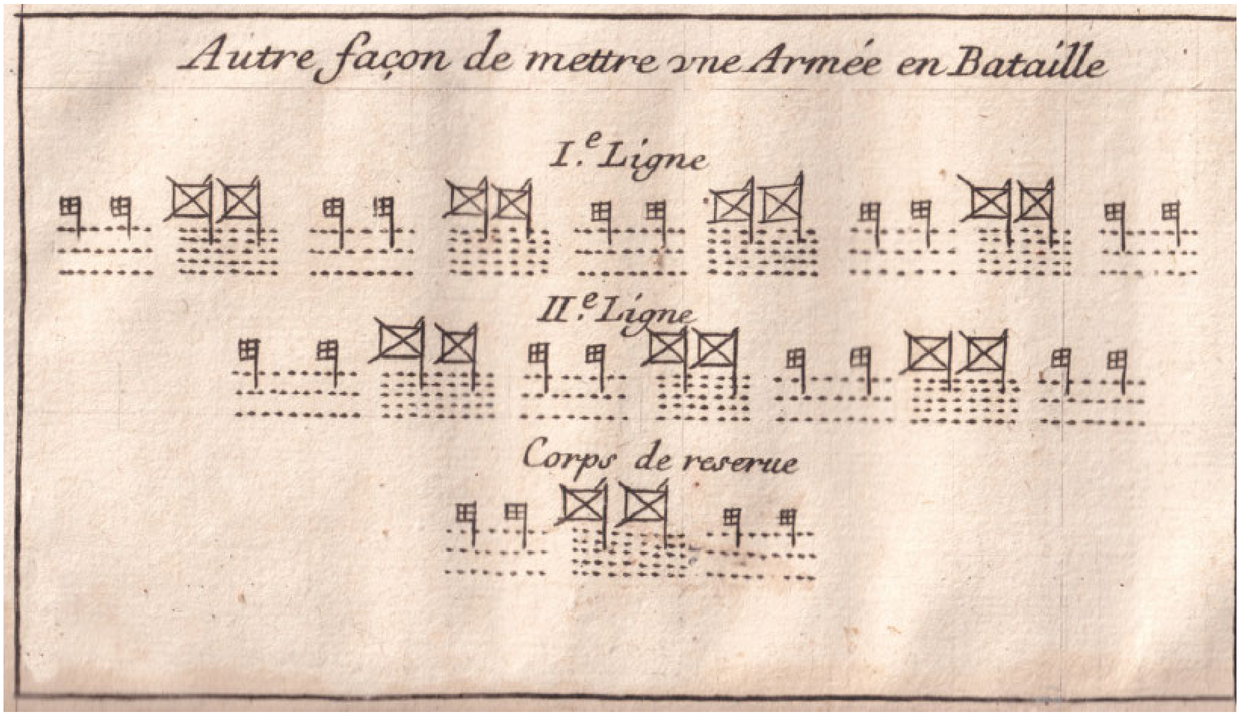
Army in line of battle facing a defile c.1674.

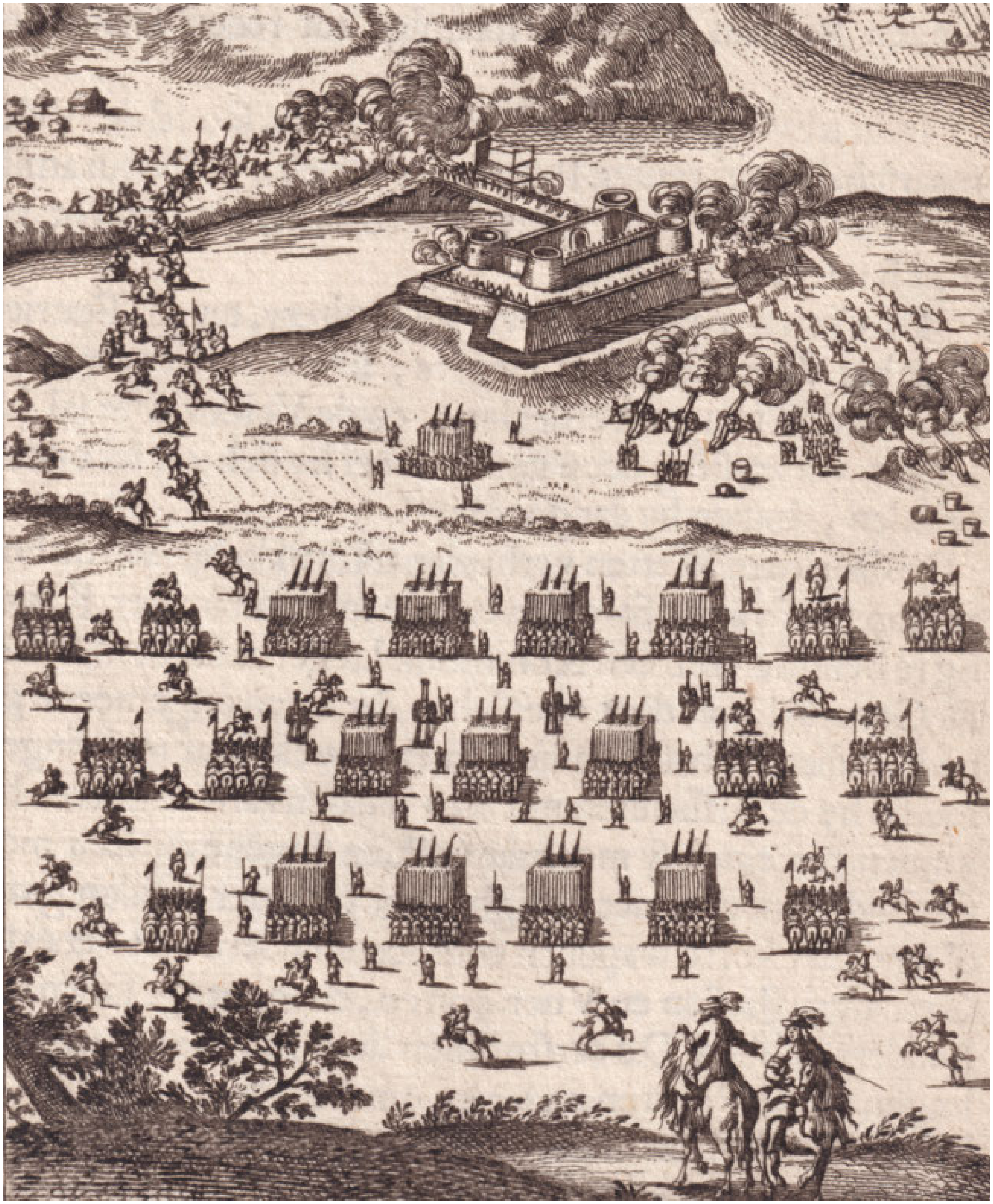

Autre façon de mettre vne Armée en Bataille
I.e Ligne
II.e Ligne
Corps de reserue

Army in an intermixed line of battle with cavalry between the battalions c.1677.

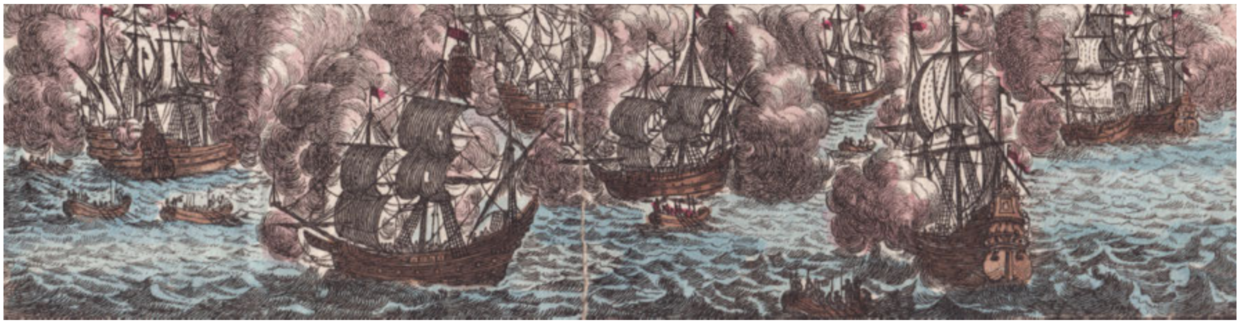
Finally, the general would form a reserve line with several troops of the finest cavalry and the best infantry battalions. During the battle, the general would stay with the reserves and use these troops to cover any open flanks, to restore order if a wing were broken or to cover the army’s retreat. To protect the army, the general would place troops of dragoons, in any defiles or villages on the flanks of the army.

The general officers would be given posts within the battle line. The senior lieutenant general would command the right flank and the second on the left flank. The major general and the brigadier generals would command the second line. When the army was ready, the general would observe his enemy’s composure and their order of battle. After giving his deputies their orders, the general would inspect his army’s deployment. Then he would begin his attack in the place where he felt the strongest.

When victorious at the end of battle and unless the enemy were utterly broken, the general would never allow his soldiers to loot or go off in mad pursuit. Although, it was good for an army to vigorously follow up a defeated enemy, it was also necessary to hold back some troops in good order, to avoid unseen setbacks.



Army fighting to secure a river crossing c.1672.



Conduct of War at Sea c.1690.

Conduct of War at Sea

War at sea was an extremely expensive enterprise and considered high risk due to the uncontrollable influence of the winds. The commander was the admiral, or general-at-sea and he had the same responsibilities as a general on land. Below him were viceadmirals who commanded squadrons that were organised in the same way as wings in the army. The fleet was normally arranged like an army marching across open country, although some admirals preferred a crescent-shaped deployment with the squadrons acting as wings. The greatest advantage in sea warfare was for the admiral to gain the advantage of the wind before engaging the enemy.

It was the admiral's duty to know how to separate the enemy ships and to keep his own ships together. The admiral would be careful to arrange his ships in such a way that they could give each other mutual aid. In combat it was sometimes advisable to board the enemy, but often necessary to avoid it due to the fear of fire.

In times of war, fleets were normally used to make diversions, transport soldiers, or to besiege hostile ports, rather than engaging the enemy fleet. When blockading a place, the admiral was to position the fleet in such a way as to prevent supplies from entering. If attempting to ruin enemy defences with cannon fire, the admiral would avoid closing the range, as this risked an explosion if a ship's powder was hit by enemy cannon. To avoid becoming wrecked, sea captains had to have complete faith in their pilots or guides. However, the primary task of a fleet was to transport an army, either as a diversion or to seize new territory, although, this always caused fatigue to the soldiers being shipped. In 1685, warfare at sea was seen as a place where fortune gave rise to new enterprises, but often resulted in disaster at the hands of fierce winds or hidden rocks.

Captain Hamilton's Royal Navy squadron 1685. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

Government Armies

Whitehall

Commander-in-Chief, King James II & VII

James had gained a degree of military experience under Marshal Turenne during the French civil wars between 1652 to 1655. After this, the young prince served his brother commanding the exiled Royalist forces at the Battle of the Dunes in 1658. During the Second Dutch War, James became Admiral of the Fleet and fought in the battle of Solebay in 1666. This suggests that he was not afraid of combat and understood the military process. However, by 1685 he had become an armchair general, simply studying maps and issuing orders.

Whitehall was at the centre of King James's web and it was from here he sent out orders and reviewed all the intelligence reports. The King was supported by his secretary of state, the Earl of Sunderland and the staff at Whitehall. These consisted of the paymaster general, the commissary general of the musters, the judge advocate general and the scoutmaster general. The other key post was the secretary of war, held by William Blathwayt. It was his job to document the military commands, commissions, changes to the establishment and unit movement orders.

The Government had an impressive network of spies, some of whom were very close to the Whig Army Council. All this contributed to the success of military operations and King James's armchair command style. By the end of June this intelligence dried up with the departure of Whig commander Colonel Venner. Once the Government armies engaged the Whigs, King James did allow his lieutenant generals, the Earl of Feversham in England and the Earl of Dumbarton in Scotland, to take over the daily running of the campaign, with limited day-to-day interference.

The Lifeguard System

All the officers in the Lifeguards held dual ranks, as they were senior officers on half pay in the regular army. This policy followed the French practise and ensured that there was a ready supply of experienced commanders in time of war. These officers became generals, acted as brigadiers or raised new regiments. As the First Troop of Lifeguards was the most senior unit in the British army, its captain outranked every other captain. As every officer was also a captain of a company or troop, this placed these officers in the highest ranks. Once the army commanders had taken up their posts, three troops of the Lifeguards, each containing 50 gentlemen and 20 horse grenadiers, marched west in 1685. The remaining gentlemen stayed in London to guard the King.

Scottish Secret Committee

The Scottish commanders do not appear to have held what might be seen as a traditional council of war, although they may have had meetings. Instead, the military policy came down from King James VII and the Secret Committee in Edinburgh. The King had been provided with intelligence from Holland before the Whigs landed and his overriding instructions were to be cautious and place a strong garrison in Stirling Castle.

All the reports from spies indicated that the Whigs had a large fleet plus arms for 10,000 men and that their objective was Stirling. This resulted in a new fort being constructed near the town. The garrison was also strengthened with more militia and regular forces. As a result, Dumbarton and Atholl would not take the initiative, or pressurise the Whigs without agreement from the Secret Committee. With these instructions, neither Dumbarton nor Atholl had any choice but to react to the Whig movements.

At first the Royal Navy presence in the region was a single yacht, HMY Charlotte. However, in early June, with more frigates arriving, all naval forces came under the command of Commodore Hamilton in HMS Kingfisher. Hamilton was an experienced officer and after an initial meeting with Dumbarton, moved to blockade or sink the Whig fleet.

Scottish Command & Control

Lieutenant General the Earl of Dumbarton, Lord George Douglas

The Earl of Dumbarton started his military career in the service of France but in 1675, his regiment was recalled to England and became the Royal Regiment of Foot or Royal Scots. At the same time, Charles II made him Earl of Dumbarton, although he had no land in Scotland. After refusing to take the Test Act, Dumbarton was removed from his posts in the army and vacated his colonelcy of the Royal Scots.

Although he held no military rank in 1685, King James needed a loyal officer to command in Scotland. As he was a Catholic, this required the Edinburgh parliament to pass an act to allow him to take up the post as commander-in-chief. It is not clear if Dumbarton was a competent or good commander, but his actions during the campaign indicated a degree of caution. This may have been due to the intelligence on the possible size of the Whig army, or because he was unwilling to take risks and fail. At the end of the campaign, Dumbarton was outmanoeuvred by the Whigs on two occasions, only to be saved by the Kilpatrick Hills.

Scottish Heritor Militia Company c.1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

Lord-Lieutenant the Marquis of Atholl, John Murray

As Lord Lieutenant of Argyllshire and Tarbert, the Marquis of Atholl had been in control of the Whig lands for over three years. His companies of Highland Watch had ensured that the popular support for their laird, the Earl of Argyll, had diminished. After news of Argyll’s landing reached the capital, on 18 May 1685 Atholl headed north to take up his command. After collecting the militia and his retainers at Blair Atholl Castle, he reached Inveraray on 30 May 1685. Atholl then used his most experienced officers to cover Argyll’s moves. However, he was slow to follow up the Whig’s retreat and this displayed a level of caution and aversion to risk taking.

Lord-Lieutenant the Duke of Gordon, George Gordon

In 1673, George Gordon joined the French army at Oudenarde and was at Maastricht to witness the Duke of Monmouth’s first success. A year later, he was in Burgundy under Turenne and then took part in the Flanders campaign. However, in 1675 he returned from the conflict and refused to take the Test Act due to his religion. In May 1685 he was given command of the Aberdeenshire Militia and marched east to join with Atholl. However, by the time his men reached the borders of Argyllshire the campaign was over. If Argyll had managed to defeat or break out of the region, he would have faced Gordon’s forces. As a commander, Gordon had limited experience and should be considered a politico officer.

Captain Ross and his troop of the King’s Royal Regiment of Dragoons 1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

Colonel Lord Claverhouse, John Graham

John Graham was the same age as the Duke of Monmouth and was married to Helen Cochrane, the sister of Sir John Cochrane, the Whig leader. Claverhouse first saw service under Monmouth with the French between 1672 and 1673. However, he then transferred to the other side, becoming a cornet in the Prince William of Orange’s Dutch Lifeguards. He then fought for the Dutch at the Battle of Seneff (against the Earl of Feversham and Churchill, then serving in the

French army) and is reported to have saved the life of the Prince, receiving a promotion to captain.

After being overlooked for a colonelcy in 1677, he left Dutch service and was commissioned to raise an independent troop of Scottish horse on 28 September 1678. Over the next year, Claverhouse successfully fought several engagements against the covenanters. On 1 June 1679, he came unstuck after rashly attacking a covenanter mob at the battle of Drumclog. What followed was defeat and retreat. Twenty days later, he was once more serving under the Duke of Monmouth at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

On 18 May 1685, Claverhouse was promoted to be a brigadier of horse, but during the campaign, he had only a supporting role. His only combat was against the Whig mob near Sanquhar. He was undoubtedly an experienced and brave commander being able to lead an independent detachment in the field. However, his acts before and after the campaign, demonstrated that he was a rash leader, but not a great tactician, even though he was victorious at the Battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689.

Major Lord William Ross

In 1679, William Ross was a lieutenant in the Earl of Home's troop of horse. This unit together with another troop attacked and defeated a Covenanter mob at Bewly Bog. After this he was commissioned as a captain and took over command of the troop on 10 September 1680. Later, his troop was incorporated into the King's Regiment of Horse and on 4 August 1684, he became the major of the regiment. Lord Ross's mother was the only daughter of William Cochrane, First Earl of Dundonald, sister of the Whig commander Sir John Cochrane, making Ross his nephew. This interesting dynamic demonstrates Ross's loyalty to the Government in 1685. However, after the follow-up actions against the Covenanters, he resigned his commission on 7 August 1686. He may have regretted his opposition to Argyll, as in 1689 he raised an independent troop of horse for William III, becoming one of the King's favourites. Ross's performance at Muirdyke demonstrated good tactical awareness, but his approach was blunt and headstrong, possibly in an effort to prove his loyalty.

Sir John Campbell, Laird of Breadalbane

As a Campbell, the Earl of Breadalbane was the Laird of Glenorchy, but stayed loyal to the government rather than join Argyll. In 1685, Breadalbane commanded the two Highland Watch companies in garrison at Kilchurn Castle. Commissioned in 1678, he was an experienced officer and could command a detachment without the need for any oversight. However, his inaction during the campaign indicates a cautious mind, unwilling to risk attacking his clan chief and brother-in-law, the Earl of Argyll. After the campaign, Breadalbane was the officer in command of the Glencoe massacre.

A company of Highland Watch, supported by a Lairds' retainers attack a Whig company 1685. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

Patrick Stewart, Laird of Ballechan

The Laird of Ballechan was a cousin to Atholl and was commander of the companies sent to hold down and secure the Earl of Argyll's lands. From the accounts of the campaign, Ballechan had good local knowledge and could happily command an independent detachment without the need for a local guide. Therefore, he can act as a scoutmaster and recruit guides for the army. However, he was also a cautious officer and quickly withdrew, rather than face Argyll's men.

Alexander Campbell, Laird of Lochnell

The Laird of Lochnell was one of the first clan leaders to receive a letter from the Earl of Argyll. Instead of joining the Whigs, he chose to join the Government army of Atholl at Inveraray with around 500 Campbells. However, after intelligence was passed to government agents, Lochnell was suspected of planning to betray Atholl, especially after a friendly fire incident at Kilbride ferry. After this it is no surprise that Lochnell's men were ordered to cover the rear of the army, keeping them out of harm's way. It is possible that if the tide of the campaign had gone in Argyll's favour, then Lochnell might well have switched sides. As a local laird, he can command a detachment without a guide.

Captain Kenneth McKenzie of Suddie

Kenneth McKenzie was commissioned as a captain into the Earl of Mars regiment on 7 April 1681. On the news of the Whig invasion, Captain McKenzie and the regiment's Adjutant-Major, Lieutenant Duncan Menzies, were ordered north to join Atholl, reaching Dunkeld on 14 May 1685. McKenzie then marched to Inveraray with Atholl, where he became the go-to officer. It was McKenzie that attacked Charles Campbell at Glendaruel and was engaged at the battle of Ardkinglas. This indicates that he was an able and brave commander with the ability to lead a strong detachment without the need for a guide. After the campaign, Captain McKenzie was killed at the battle of Lochaber in August 1688, fighting on the side of King William III.

Scottish Lifeguards & Cavalry

Colonel Livingstone’s Troop of Lifeguards

The Scottish Troop of Lifeguards was based in Edinburgh and accompanied Dumbarton to Glasgow. Later it was one of the units that moved north to intercept Argyll’s army at Killearn. It was commanded by Colonel Livingstone. There was only one troop of Scots Lifeguard Horse and no documented evidence of any accompanying horse grenadiers in 1685.

Colonel Claverhouse’s King’s Regiment of Horse

The King’s Regiment of Horse was formed in 1682 with four troops and by 1685 this had increased to six troops each of 50 men. The troops commanders were:

- Colonel John Graham of Claverhouse (Scots Regular Horse)

- Lieutenant Colonel James Earl of Drumlangrig (Scots Regular Horse)

- Major William Lord Ross (Scots Regular Horse)

•Captain Earl of Balcarres (Scots Regular Horse)

•Captain Earl of Airly (Scots Regular Horse)

•Captain Lord William Douglas (Scots Regular Horse)

During the campaign two troops are known to have taken part in the fighting; the first was Claverhouse’s which broke up a Covenanter mob that had gathered at Sanquhar. The second was that of Major Ross, which chased down and engaged the Whigs at the Battle of Muirdyke. As regular troops, they can perform all the military disciplines, wheel and interchange without becoming disordered. At Muirdyke, they fired pistols before charging home.

General Dalyell’s King’s Regiment of Dragoons

This regiment was formally established in 1678 and was initially formed of two troops. By 1685 this had increased to a total of six troops. The troop commanders were:

•Colonel Dalyell (Scots Dragoons)

•Lieutenant Colonel Lord Charles Murray (Scots Dragoons)

•Major John Wedderburne (Scots Dragoons)

•Captain John Strachan (Scots Dragoons)

•Captain William Cleland (Scots Dragoons)

•Captain George Winaham (Scots Dragoons)

It is possible that Lord Murray’s troop and one other may have accompanied the Marquis of Atholl to Inveraray. However, only Captain Cleland was known to have taken an active part in the campaign to fight at Muirdyke.

Independent Troop of Guards

As well as the Independent Company of Foot, Edinburgh Castle also contained an independent troop of guards.

Scottish Infantry

Colonel Douglas’s Regiment of Foot Guards

This regiment was expanded in 1684 to contain 10 regular companies and one grenadier company. In June 1685, Captain Carny's company was added to the regiment, although this may have been a Highland Watch unit. In 1685, the companies were commanded by:

- Colonel James Douglas (Scots Guards)

- Lieutenant Colonel John Winraham (Scots Guards)

- Major James Murray (Scots Guards)

- Captain James Maitland (Scots Guards)

- Captain William Innes (Scots Guards)

- Captain Alexander Livingston (Scots Guards)

- Captain George Macgill (Scots Guards)

- Captain Patrick Lyon (Scots Guards)

•Captain John Hay (Scots Guards)

•Captain Charles Straton (Scots Guards

•Captain Charles Carny (Scots Guards

•Captain Thomas Hamilton (Scots Guard Grenadiers)

During the campaign, the regiment was held in reserve at Glasgow under the command of the Earl of Dumbarton. At the end of the campaign, they marched out of the city to confront the Whigs at Killearn.

Earl of Mar's Regiment of Foot

This regiment was formed in 1678 and had 10 regular companies and one grenadier company. In 1685, the company commanders were:

•Colonel Charles, Earl of Mar (Scots Regular Foot)

•Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Buchan (Scots Regular Foot)

•Major John Balfour (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Thomas Douglas (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain John Dalyell (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain John Bruce (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Alexander Cairnes (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Kenneth ‘Suddie’ McKenzie (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Colin McKenzie (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Hugh Montgomery (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain Walter Maxwell (Scots Regular Foot)

•Captain William Garioch (Scots Grenadier Foot)

It was possible that two companies of the regiment marched with the Marquis of Atholl to Inveraray. Therefore, it is unlikely that these soldiers had any of the new firelocks that were shipped to Scotland in May 1685. On 20 May a new company was raised from members of the Highland Watch under the command of Captain Walter Maxwell. It is unlikely that the regiment had pikemen.

Scottish Garrisons & Artillery

Independent Garrison Companies

The three major garrison towns in Scotland were Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, plus units stationed in the Shetlands and the other Isles. The governors were:

- Edinburgh Castle: William, Duke of Queensberry

- Stirling Castle: Charles, Earl of Mar

- Dumbarton Castle: Charles, Duke of Lenox & Richmond

The three castles each had their own independent company of infantry. On 2 May 1685 orders were written for a new fort to be constructed at Stirling, covering the bridge. This was called Fort James and a commission was issued to Captain George Barclay to be the governor and captain of the independent company garrisoning it.

The Highland Watch

The Highland Watch or Highland Guards were first raised in 1668 under the Marquis of Atholl and were used to garrison the fortresses in the Scottish Highlands and act as a police force. At the start of the campaign, the Highland Watch were based in the following garrisons:

- Colonel James Campbell of Breadalbane, one company at Kilchurn Castle

- Captain Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, three companies at Inveraray Castle

- Colonel James Menzie, one company at Inverlochy

Initially, they were recruited from the best men from all the Highland clans, but by 1684, they had become independent companies formed from clansmen with lairds loyal to the Stuart Government. The Highland Watch were full-time soldiers, armed and paid by the state but not on the official army establishment.

Train of Artillery

The Scottish artillery park in Edinburgh contained a wide range of ordnance, from heavy siege guns to lighter field pieces. In 1678 Commissionaire John Schlezer commanded a train of artillery containing four 6-pounders and eight 3-pounder brass cannons. An artillery 'brigade' supported Dumbarton and was part of the army that faced Argyll at Killearn. It was possible that this was made up of eight light pieces.

A company of Highland Militia c.1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

Scottish Militia

Scottish Militia Regiments

The Scottish Lowland Militia was comprised of all Heritor or bound men between the ages of 16 and 60. As King Charles II had adopted a high-handed approach to Scotland and hated Covenanters, the militia were busy even after the formation of the Highland Watch. During the 1670s the militia had become a semi-permanent police force and saw regular service. This involved putting down dissenters, arresting ring leaders and hanging the odd preacher. It was estimated that 60,000 militia could be called to arms, but the number was probably far lower, at around 10,000 men.

On 17 May, the Scottish Government issued orders for all Heritors to muster and join their officers. As the campaign unfolded, the counties involved in the war were Argyllshire, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire and Banffshire. However, the largest contribution came from was Perthshire and approximately 2,000 militia joined at Blair Atholl Castle. In 1668, Atholl’s Perthshire Militia Regiment of Foot contained 10 companies and one troop of horse. The other large force of Heritors came from Aberdeenshire, where Lord Gordon raised a force of about 1,000 to march west.

The Scottish militia horse would have had the same structure as the regular cavalry. However, it was the responsibility of the troop captain to offer commissions to his junior officers. On mobilisation, he had to ensure that his soldiers were armed, well dressed, had good mounts and had rations for 20 days service. One troop of Perthshire horse, commanded by Lord Murrey, joined the Marquis of Atholl at Blair Atholl Castle.

The Marquis of Atholl might have travelled from Blair Atholl Castle with four or five old leather guns dating from the 1640s. These would have been light field pieces crewed by militia gun crews under the eyes of an experienced but probably ageing gun captain.

Highland Host

At Inveraray, Atholl mustered an army that contained a multitude of clans, possibly numbering over 1,000 men. These men had been recruited by the clan lairds who were loyal to King James. There would have been two types of soldiers; those from the laird’s household and then men recruited from his tenants. The main clan groupings at Inveraray were:

Company of the Highland Host 1685.

- Lochnell’s Clan: one Laird’s foot and two of Tenant foot

- Earl of Mar’s Clan: one Laird’s foot and one of Tenant foot

- Maclean’s Clan: one Laird’s foot and one of Tenant foot

•Kappoch, Glengarrie’s, Appin & McEanes’ Clans: one Laird’s foot and two of Tenant foot. These units would be a mixture of all the minor clans

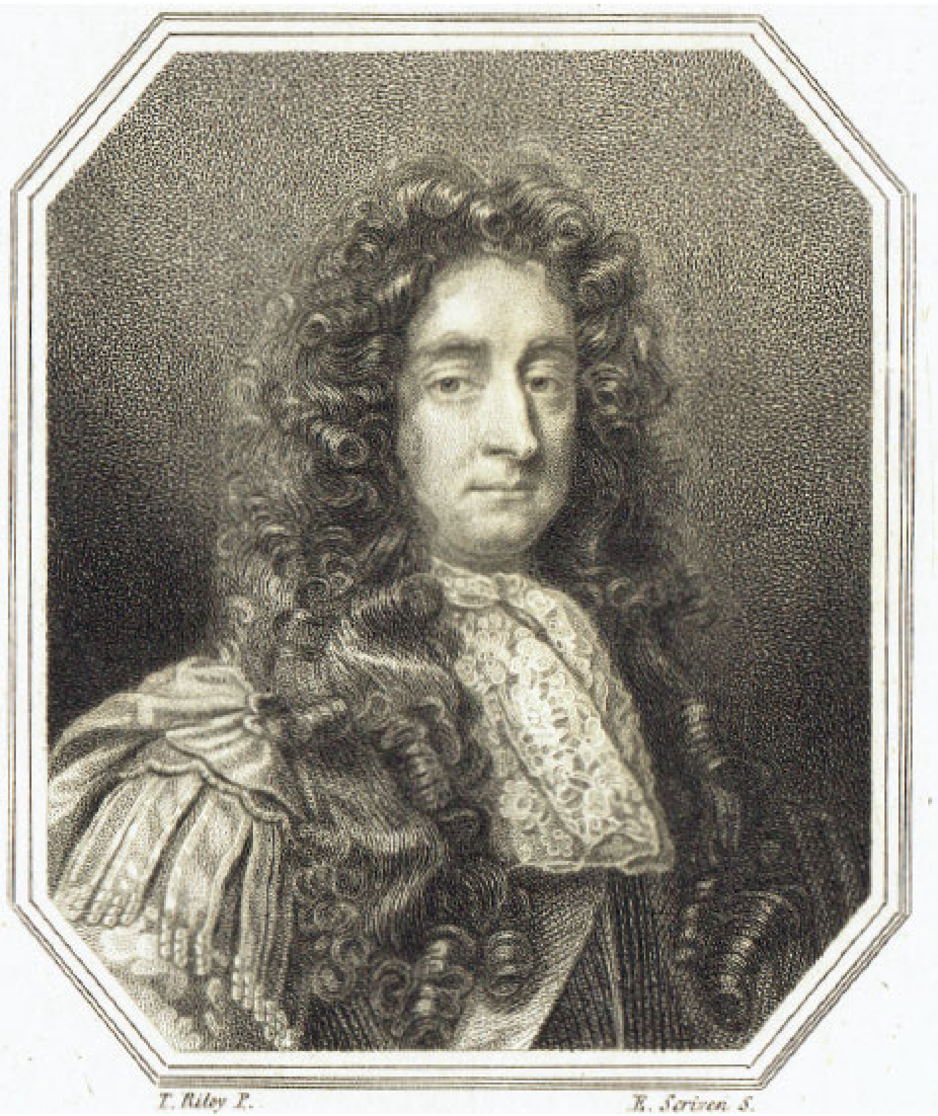
Each laird that joined Atholl would have had a company of loyal retainers. Each of these would have contained between 70 and 120 clansmen, depending on the influence and wealth of their leader. As these men were from the personal household of the laird, they were better equipped than other members of the Highland host. The rest of the host was composed of labourers, workers and tenant farmers, being in the army by obligation rather than conviction. They fought with whatever personal weapons they had at hand.

English Command &Control

Lieutenant General Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham

The Earl of Feversham was the nephew of the French Marshal Turenne and like the Duke of Monmouth, was 18 when he joined the army. He was commissioned as a captain in the Duke of York’s Troop of Lifeguards in 1665 and was at the naval battle of Solebay. After this, he went on to fight alongside Monmouth in the 1672, 1673 and 1674 campaigns. In 1678, he was colonel of a regiment of dragoons. This experience gave Feversham a strong military foundation and he demonstrated this knowledge in 1685. By this date, Feversham was the most senior officer in the British Army and although made lieutenant general, his duties were those of general. His opponents have criticised him, incorrectly sighting his being asleep during the battle of Sedgemoor, a slight that has stuck.

However, the truth was different and after his first encounter at the battle of Norton St Philip, he defined his strategy for the campaign. Much to Churchill's dislike, rather than a headlong attack, his movements ensured that his army covered the roads to London and Bristol while pushing the Whigs back. But it was his understanding of Monmouth's style of generalship that dictated his decision to stay a day from the Whigs. This was due to the risk of a surprise attack when quartering in towns. Therefore, until he could neutralise this threat by having enough tents for his infantry, he would stand off. As soon as this situation changed, Feversham attacked Monmouth at Bridgewater and forced a battle.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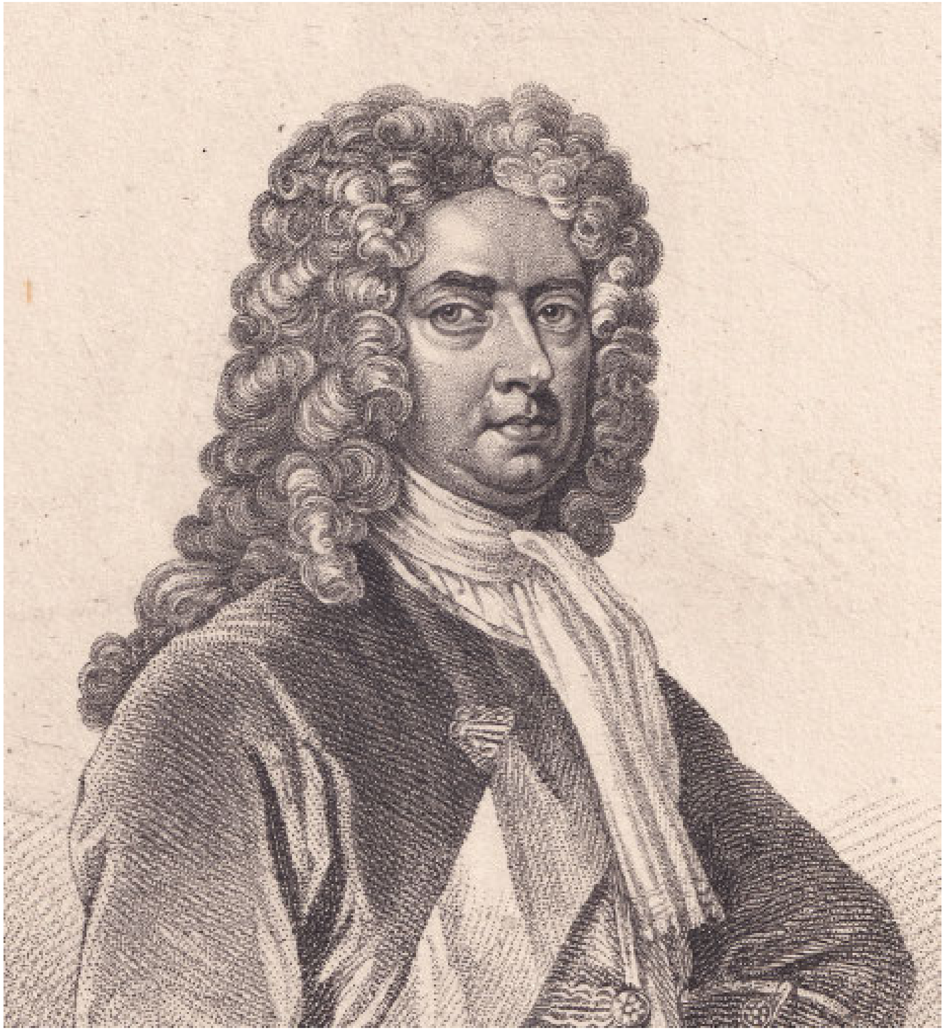
Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham.

Before the Battle of Sedgemoor, Feversham ensured that the army was well encamped with both a greater guard, the main guard and a flying patrol. Critically, it was these precautions that saved the army from being surprised. After inspecting the greater guards, he did not retire until the early hours of 6 July, less than an hour before the Whigs attacked. During the fighting, Feversham directed the battle and demonstrated good generalship by attacking the wings of the enemy with his cavalry. It was this and not Churchill’s movement of Kirke’s brigade that won the battle. Feversham should be treated as a wise, honest and prudent commander.

Major General John Churchill

Churchill joined the army a few years after the Earl of Feversham and the Duke of Monmouth. The life of the future Duke of Marlborough is well documented and his supporters have confused his later brilliance with the historical detail of the 1685 campaign. Churchill had risen through the ranks of the British army by demonstrating bravery and military skill. However, he also benefited from the vacuum created by the removal from the army of Monmouth and his supporters in 1680.

Churchill demonstrates a lack of awareness for the bigger picture, by rushing from Salisbury with just two troops of horse, leaving orders for the brigade to follow and never reversing them. He also forgets to inform King James in Whitehall of his dash west. Later, Churchill received orders from Whitehall to block Monmouth’s advance on Bristol with his brigade. Unfortunately, this was an impossibility, as he only had two troops of horse at Chard. Throughout the campaign he failed to keep his senior officers informed of his location and this was borne out by Feversham writing that he had no intelligence from Churchill.



John Churchill when the Duke of Marlborough.

At the Battle of Norton St Philip on 27 June Churchill commanded the vanguard. This stumbled into an ambush, resulting in a damaging retreat, which saw the Government army losing the battle. This demonstrated a lack of caution by not following the accepted military practices. Regardless of this failure, after the battle, Churchill was critical of Feversham for his decision to wait for the tents. Instead, Churchill was pushing for a mad rush after Monmouth, which is another example of his poor military thinking.

Finally, his much-acclaimed flanking attack at Sedgemoor was another example of poor judgement. Without informing his commanding officer of the movement, Churchill ordered Kirke to march his brigade from the left to the right flank. However, Kirke’s men arrived after the cavalry had broken the enemy. Yet, if they had remained in place and crossed over the Lower Plungeon, then his men would have hit the Whigs open right flank and stopped their retreat to Bridgwater.

Therefore, the myth that Churchill won the campaign has hidden the many mistakes of a young officer with his first independent command. He is overeager to prove himself, rash and disobedient, but it is his poor communications that would impact on the army. It is no surprise that William III was reluctant to give him an independent command in Ireland!

Lord Churchill’s vanguard attack the barricade at the Battle of Norton St Philip. (from multiple collections)

Lieutenant Colonel Theophilus Oglethorpe

Theophilus Oglethorpe was second lieutenant of the Earl of Feversham’s Third Troop of Lifeguards, with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army. By 1685, Oglethorpe was an experienced soldier and cavalry commander having seen extensive action in Flanders and Scotland under the Duke of Monmouth. During the campaign, Feversham relied on Oglethorpe’s scouting abilities to track down the Whig army. As a commander, he could happily lead a detachment without a guide. It was Oglethorpe who discovered the Whig army near Pensford and later, he warned Feversham of Monmouth’s move towards Warminster.

He commanded a squadron that consisted of his own troop of Lifeguards, the attached horse-grenadiers, plus one or two volunteer troops. Prior to the Battle of Sedgemoor, it was Oglethorpe’s flying patrol that failed to located Monmouth’s route of march. However, he did learn of Monmouth’s night march, but returned after the battle had started. After this Oglethorpe led his exhausted troop in a charge against the Whig scythemen on the right wing. Overall, he was a competent and brave officer and it was Oglethorpe who rode back to London carrying the news of the victory at Sedgemoor.

Brigadier of Horse, Edward Villiers

As lieutenant of the First Troop of Lifeguards, Edward Villiers had the rank of lieutenant colonel in the regular army. During the campaign, he was appointed to the rank of brigadier and at Sedgemoor commanded a squadron of horse. This contained his own troop of Lifeguards, the combined troop of horse grenadiers and Captain Adderley’s troop of the Oxford Blues. Edward Villiers was a Captain in the 1640 campaign against the Scottish and later fought in the British Civil Wars. By 1644, Villiers was a colonel of a Royalist regiment of horse and commanded the Newark Horse at the Battle of Naseby. In 1678, he was appointed colonel of a new regiment of foot.

Brigadier Villiers was clearly an experienced field officer and capable of commanding a brigade of cavalry. At Sedgemoor, he was ordered to attack the open right flank of the Whig army. However, he appears to have done very little during the battle and it is possible that in his old age, he was a careful, even cautious, commander. However, he was never placed in command of a detachment and would have certainly needed a guide.

Brigadier of Horse, Charles Orby

Sir Charles Orby was a cornet in the Second Troop of Lifeguards and a Major on the regular army establishment. During the campaign he was appointed brigadier and commanded a squadron containing Parson’s, Lloyd’s, Littleton’s and Wyndham’s troops of the Oxford Blues. In 1678, he was the lieutenant colonel and captain of a troop in Sir John Talbot’s Dragoons. A year later he was appointed to carry the guidon in the Second (Queen’s) Troop of Lifeguards. At Sedgemoor, Orby was ordered to attack the left wing of the Whig army and appears to have played an important part in the overall victory. Orby should be seen as a competent officer, although he would need a guide if placed in command of a detachment.

Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis Compton

Lieutenant Colonel Compton was an experienced officer, seeing service in the British Civil Wars and was commissioned as a lieutenant in the Oxford Blues in 1661. By 1676 he was a major in the regiment, becoming lieutenant colonel in 1678. During the campaign of 1685, his troop joined the Tower Artillery Train and therefore missed the battle at Norton St Philip. However, at Sedgemoor

Compton commanded the squadron deployed as the greater guard on the right flank of the Government army. His duty was to stop the camp being surprised by providing advance warning of any enemy attack, a job he excelled at! However, Compton was wounded as he led his squadron into combat. Therefore, based on his performance, he should be considered a competent and skilled leader, prone to lead from the front.

Lieutenant Colonel Compton's troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse in 'squadron' formation 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Colonel Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton

The Duke of Grafton was a half-brother to the Duke of Monmouth and 12 years his junior. In 1681, Grafton was given the colonelcy of the First Regiment of Foot Guards and in 1683 made Vice Admiral of England. To gain military experience he travelled to Europe in 1684 and joined the French Army under the Condé at the siege of Luxembourg.

As a commander, Grafton lacked the experience to command his regiment and this was highlighted by Lord Sackville being made brigadier of the Footguards battalions. At the battle of Norton St Philip, Grafton demonstrated a degree of bravery and foolishness when he followed his grenadiers into an ambush. He was only saved after the horse grenadiers and Captain Lloyd's troopers were sent in to rescue him. Therefore, as a commander, he was rash, inexperienced and cannot command a detachment without a guide.

Colonel Lord Edward Sackville

Edward Sackville received his first commission as captain in 1672 and by 1678 was the lieutenant colonel of Henry Sidney's Regiment of Foot. Two years later he became lieutenant colonel of the Earl of Craven's Second Regiment of Foot Guards or Coldstream Guards. Later that year he was commanding a combined battalion of guards at Tangiers and was made governor of the settlement on the death of Sir Palmes Fairborne. Based on his experience, Sackville was promoted over the head of the Duke of Grafton to brigadier on 3 July 1685 and commanded the three battalions of Foot Guards. It is hard to estimate his performance as these battalions had a minimal role in the battle. However, based on his knowledge and past performance, Sackville was a skilled and determined officer. He would be able to command a detachment without needing guide.

Colonel Percy Kirke

Of all the commanders in the campaign of 1685, Percy Kirke is possibly the most professional and experienced. In 1666, Percy Kirke received his first commission as an ensign in the Admiral's Regiment. Then four years later he had switched arms to become a cornet in the Earl of Oxfords Regiment of Horse. By 1675, Kirke had been promoted to captain-lieutenant in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment of Horse and by 1679 he was a full captain in the Oxford Blues. However, the following year he sailed to Tangiers as lieutenant colonel of the Earl of Plymouth's Foot, becoming colonel the same year. On return from Tangiers, Percy Kirke's Regiment became the Queen's Regiment of Foot and garrisoned Plymouth.

During the 1685 campaign, Colonel Kirke found himself in command of Churchill's brigade at Salisbury. When asked by the Earl of Somerset to march west to support the militia, he made it clear that he knew this was the right decision but followed his orders and marched the brigade south. On 4 July 1685, Colonel Kirke was appointed brigadier of what was Churchill's command.

After Sedgemoor, Colonel Kirke's brigade garrisoned Bridgwater, Taunton and other Whig towns. As a result, his men had to carry out the punishments ordered by King James and it is for this reason that Kirke's men have such a bad reputation. Yet, any regiment put into this situation would have performed the same duties just as harshly. As a commander, Kirke demonstrates skill, obedience and is a very able officer. He can command a detachment and move without a guide.

English Lifeguards & Cavalry

The First or Kings Troop of the Lifeguard 1685. (From the collection of Alan Larson)

First Troop of Lifeguards

The Colonel of the First Troop of Lifeguards was Charles, Duke of Albemarle. However, as Lord Lieutenant of Devon, Albemarle relinquished his command of the army. While on campaign it is possible that the troop was commanded by Colonel Edward Griffin, with Captain John Parker leading the horse grenadier troop.

Second Troop of Lifeguards

The colonel of the Second Troop of Lifeguards was George Fitzroy, Duke of Northumberland. However, as he had other duties, command of the army fell to the Earl of Feversham. Captain Upcott commanded with Captain Robert Dixon leading the horse grenadiers.

Third Troop of Lifeguards

In 1685, the colonel was the Earl of Feversham and as he now commanded the army, Lieutenant Colonel Oglethorpe commanded the troop, with Captain John Vaughan leading the horse grenadiers.

Earl of Oxford’s Royal Regiment of Horse

In May 1685, the Earl of Oxford’s Royal Regiment of Horse or the Oxford Blues. had eight troops and was the only regiment of horse on the establishment. In peacetime, the troops of the regiment acted as a mobile police force and regularly moved between towns or guarded convoys. The following troop commanders took part in the campaign:

A Troop of the Royal Regiment of Horse 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

- Lieutenant Colonel Sir Francis Compton (English Regular Horse)

- Captain Sir John Parson (English Regular Horse)

•Captain Sir Charles Wyndham (English Regular Horse)

•Captain Edwin Sandys (English Regular Horse)

•Captain Henry Cornewell, later Captain David Lloyd (English Regular Horse)

•Captain Walter Littleton (English Regular Horse)

•Captain Charles Adderley (English Regular Horse)

On 13 June orders were issued for the size of each troop to be increased to 60 privates. However, only Compton’s and Cornewell’s troops could have been at this new establishment strength, as the others did not have time to raise recruits before riding to Salisbury. Only Captain Slingsby’s troop did not take part in the campaign.

Churchill’s Royal Regiment of Dragoons

In the days before the Whigs landed at Lyme, the Royal Regiment of Dragoons was being reorganised. Seven new troops were being formed, while the existing six troops were being used as a pool for new officers. Many of the junior troop officers had been promoted and during the reshuffle, the post of quartermaster had been removed. However, Strother's troop had been an independent company and was in Berwick. After the Whig landing, Nedby's troop was ordered to Islington and it is possible that this troop was used to bring the other troops up to the new establishment strength of 60 troopers, an extra three per squad. The following troop commanders took part in the campaign:

A troop of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

- Lieutenant Colonel Lord Cornbury

- Captain John Coy

- Captain George Churchill

- Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Hussey (Churchill's troop)

When Churchill was ordered to Salisbury on 13 June, he left his own troop of dragoons outside London. While Lieutenant Colonel Cornbury's and Captain Coy's troops followed a few days later, it was not until the Earl of Feversham marched from London that the two other troops joined the campaign, these being Churchill's own and his brother's, Captain George Churchill.

Independent Troops of Horse

After Monmouth's landing, the Government commissioned officers from the Lifeguards to raise troops of independent horse. However, few of these units saw combat and they appear to have replaced the regular troops as the mobile police force. Some units never even received weapons until after the campaign. Of these companies, only Captain Talbot's, Captain Henry Bertie's and the Earl of Newburgh's appear to have been active in the campaign.

EnglishGuards & Infantry

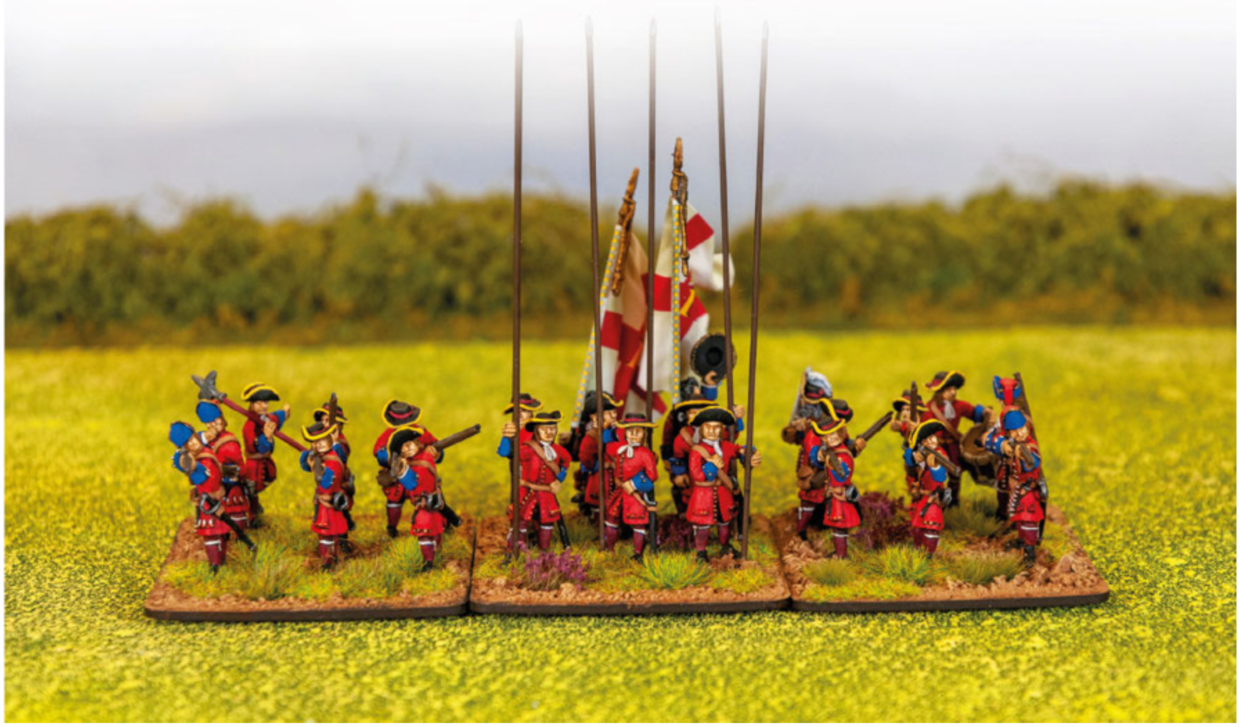
Duke of Grafton’s First Regiment of Foot Guards

Battalion of the First Regiment of Foot Guards formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

The Duke of Grafton marched west with two battalions of first foot guards. Each had six companies and one company of grenadiers. Grafton commanded the first battalion and the second was commanded by Major William Eaton. The other captains known to have been involved in the campaign were, John Berkeley, Henry Sackville and Ferdinando Hastings, with Francis Hawley and Sir William Booth commanding the grenadiers.

Earl of Craven’s Coldstream or Second Regiment of Foot Guards

The Coldstream Guards contributed a single battalion to the campaign. This was composed of six companies and one company of grenadiers. This battalion was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Sir Edward Sackville, with Captain Bridgemen commanding the grenadiers. During the campaign Sackville was promoted to full colonel and then a brigadier, while the original colonel, the Earl of Craven was promoted to lieutenant general on 19 June.



Battalion of the Second Regiment of Foot Guards formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Lord Douglas' Royal Regiment of Foot or the Royal Scots

The Royal Scots returned from service in Tangiers in November 1683 and went into garrisons in Rochester, Chatham and Winchester. Unofficially the regiment was known as the Earl of Dumbarton's, although he had stepped down due to the Test Act on his return to England. As a result, the colonel's company remained without a captain until Dumbarton returned to the post in August 1685. The regiment had 20 companies and one grenadier company. By June 1685, nine of these companies were in Southwark. On 16 June, four companies marched to Portsmouth, to replace the four companies of Trelawny's regiment heading west. The other five companies were ordered to guard the Train of Artillery on 21 June. The company commanders were:

Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Foot formed into Battalia 1685.
(From the collection of Charles Singleton)

- Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Lord Douglas (English Regular Foot)

- Captain James Moncrief (English Regular Foot)

- Captain George Murray (English Regular Foot)

•Captain Munro McKenzie (English Regular Foot)

•Captain Robert Halkett (English Regular Foot)

Captain Robert Hodges commanded the grenadier company but this was not ordered west. Since its arrival back in England, the company structure had remained different to the other regiments by having an extra sergeant and two lieutenants per company. On 13 June, the regiment received orders to increase its company sizes from 50 to 100 men. Clearly the regiment had been recruiting, because after the campaign, it received orders for all the new English soldiers to be dismissed.

Colonel Kirke’s, the Queen Dowager’s Regiment of Foot

This regiment returned from Tangiers in November 1683 and was subsequently brought back up to strength and posted to Plymouth and the surrounding towns. On 14 April the following company commanders were ordered to London:

•Colonel Percy Kirke (English Regular Foot)

•Captain Thomas St Johns (English Regular Foot)

Battalion of the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

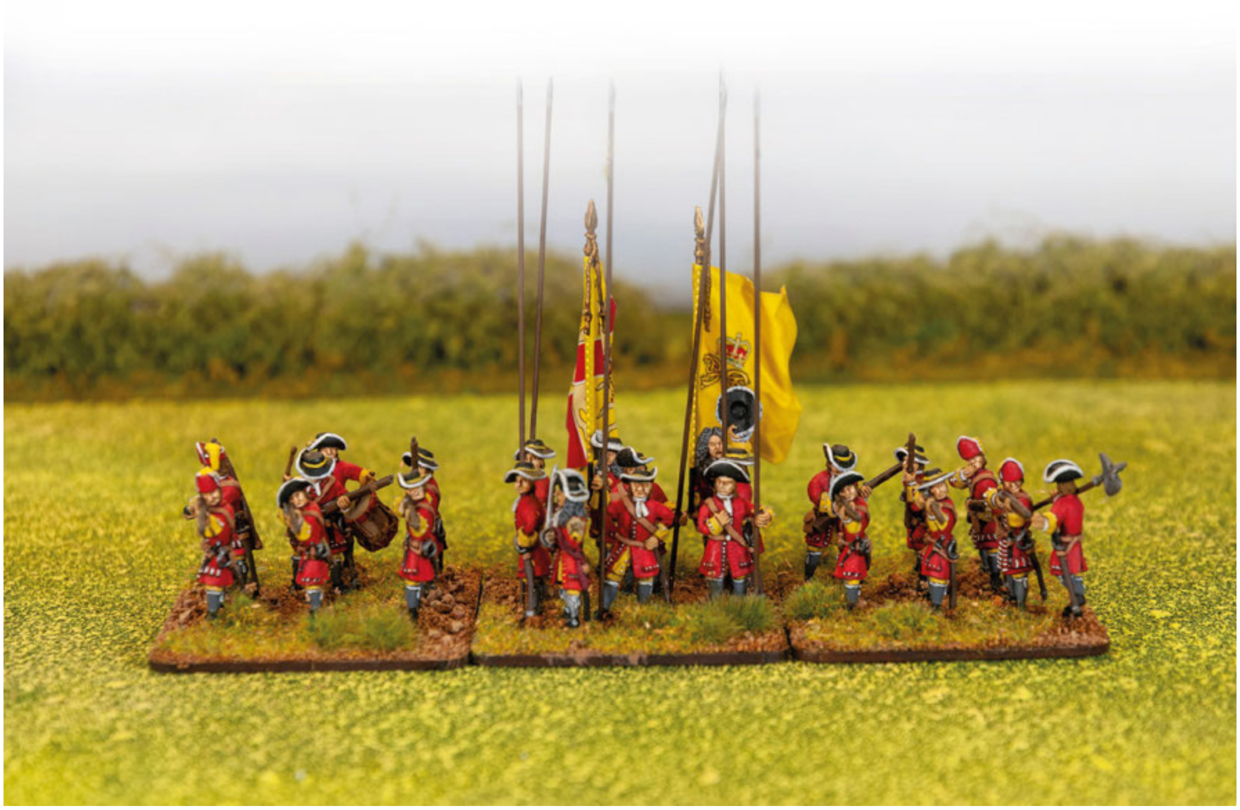
- Captain Charles Wingfield (English Regular Foot)

- Captain George Wingfield (English Regular Foot)

- Captain William Matthews (English Grenadier Foot)

The rest of the regiment remained in the Plymouth area. On 14 April, Major Lesley's company was ordered from Pendennis to Plymouth, replacing Captain Matthews' grenadiers. On reaching London in June 1685, the grenadier company was issued with bayonets and the following day they started marching towards Oxford. On 13 June they marched into Staines and that evening Kirke was ordered to Salisbury, reaching the city on 18 June. Throughout the campaign, the battalion had four companies plus one grenadier company. The regiment does not appear to have been ordered to increase its establishment strength.

Colonel Trelawny's Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot



Battalion of the Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Like Kirke's, this regiment returned from Tangiers in November 1683 and was quartered in Portsmouth. By May 1685 it had undergone reorganisation and had 10 regular companies and one grenadier company. On 13 June Colonel Trelawny was ordered to increase the establishment of each company from 50 to 100 soldiers. Two days later, Trelawny was ordered to send three of the companies and the grenadier company as an escort to the Portsmouth Train of Artillery. The company commanders were:

- Lieutenant Colonel Charles Churchill (English Regular Foot)
- Captain Saville (English Regular Foot)
- Captain Fox (English Regular Foot)
- Captain Johnston (English Grenadier Foot)

At the same time, four companies of the Royal Scots were ordered to march from Southwark to Portsmouth as replacements.

English Artillery

Portsmouth Train of Artillery

Light Artillery Brigade c.1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

On 16 June, Henry Sheers was appointed Comptroller of the Train of Artillery, being dispatched from the armoury at Portsmouth. Nicholas Sandford was the Commissioner of Artillery and Danial Moody was Master Gunner with eight gunners and eight labourers. This contained a single light brigade train of artillery containing:

•Four iron 3-pounders

•Four brass Falcons (3-pounders)

The train of artillery would have contained the standard mixture of general supply wagons, powder wagons and caissons. The train was documented as having 50 roundshot per artillery piece, 1,000 hand grenades, 20 pounds of musket shot and 20 barrels of powder. The train also contained a forge as a smith was amongst the staff.

Tower of London Train of Artillery

Equipment from the Train of Artillery c.1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

This train of artillery for 16 guns was commissioned on 21 June, although plans had been underway since 18 June. On 22 June, a train of artillery (a siege brigade and one large field brigade) left the Tower of London commanded by Mr Povey as Comptroller and four commissionaires. As an indication of the size of each brigade and the train of artillery there was a master gunner and two mates plus 32 gunners and labourers. The train contained 118 wagons, with Henry Davenport as Conductor of Tents. The train had its own smithy and forge, plus wheelwrights and farriers.

The Siege Brigade contained:

Two 12-pounders

Four Demi-Culverins

The Field Brigade contained:

Four 6-pounders

Four Sakers (6-pounders)

Two Minions (4-pounders)

The train had its own company of pioneers armed with firelocks and halberds. This later became a company of Lord Dartmouth’s, the new Royal Regiment of Fusiliers.

Company of the newly raised Royal Regiment of Fusiliers. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

English County Militia

The first units to encounter Monmouth's army were the part-time soldiers from the militia. These were formed into regiments based on regional districts called hundreds. Each hundred was responsible for the supply of an infantry soldier or mounted trooper. The men mustered in the nearest big town where they would be equipped from the local armoury. The infantry was probably organised into companies of between 90 and 150 soldiers from three or four civic hundreds. The regiments theoretically had five companies and therefore a strength of around 500 men.

Each county had between four and six infantry regiments, each with five companies and a regiment of horse with five troops. The Gloucestershire militia had the White, Green, Blue and Red regiments. Hampshire had the Yellow, Green, Blue, Grey, White and another regiment. The county of Wiltshire had the Red, Blue, Green and Yellow regiments. During 1685, the following Militia formations were involved in some way:

Dorsetshire (Five regiments in total):

Colonel Portman’s Regiment of Militia (Yellow Coats)

Colonel Strangeways’ Regiment of Militia

Colonel Erles’ Regiment of Militia

Colonel Haynes Troop of Horse

Somersetshire (Five regiments in total):

Colonel Luttrell’s (Taunton Blues) Regiment of Militia

Colonel Philepps’ Regiment of Militia

Colonel Stawell’s Regiment of Militia

Colonel Fitzharding’s Regiment of Militia

Colonel Horner’s Regiment of Militia

Captain William Lacey’s Troop of Horse

Sussex (Five regiments in total):

Colonel Alford’s Regiment of Militia

Colonel Stapley’s Troop of Horse

Major Bridge’s Troop of Horse

Captain Monk’s Troop of Horse

Captain Peckham’s Troop of Horse

Wiltshire (Four regiments in total):

Colonel Wyndham’s Regiment of Militia

Colonel Ducket’s Regiment of Militia

Major Talbot’s Regiment of Militia

Colonel Earle’s Regiment of Militia

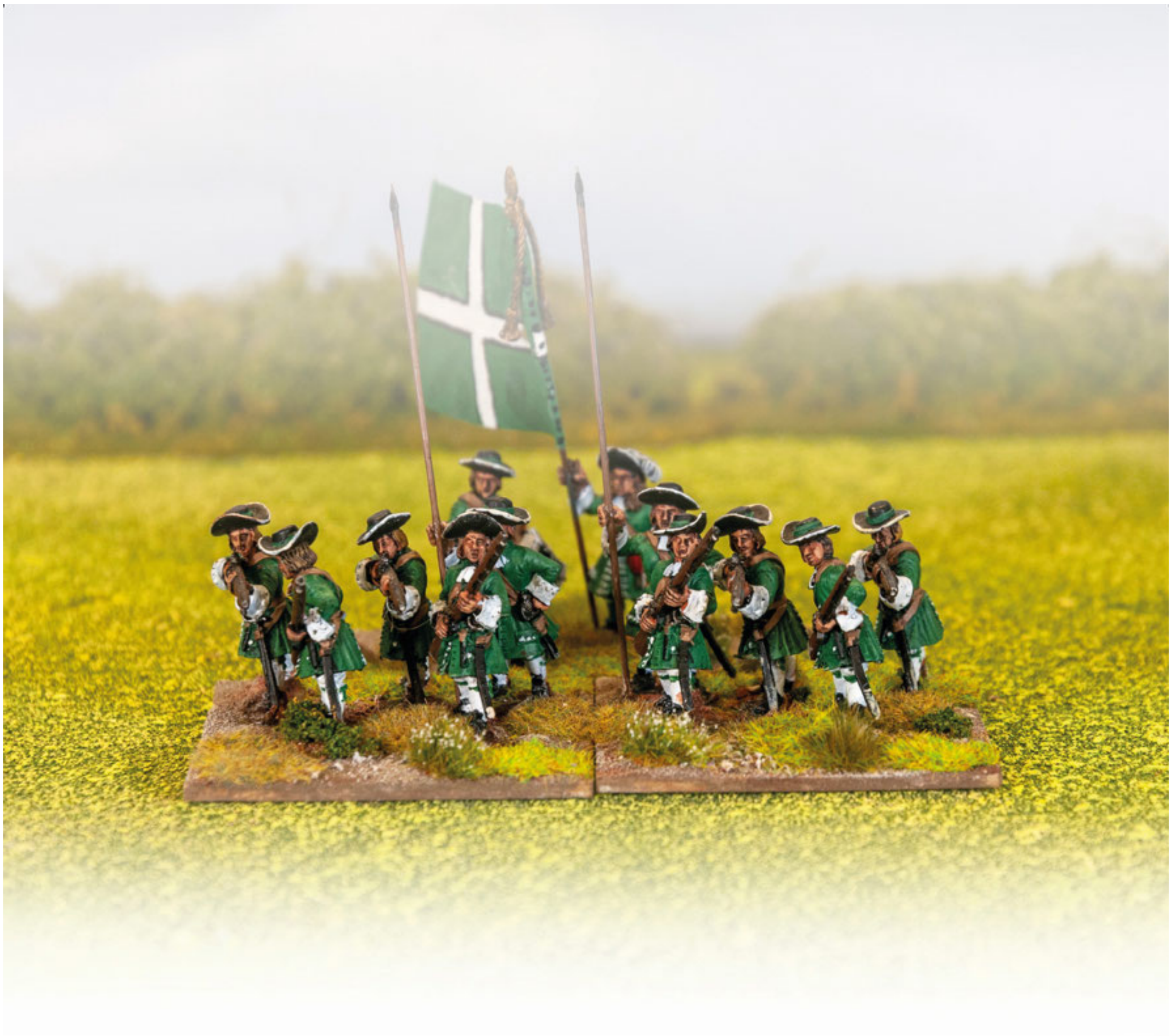
Colonel Helyar’s Troop of Horse

Captain Penruddock’s Troop of Horse

Gloucestershire (Four infantry regiments in total)

Devonshire (Six infantry regiments in total)

Hampshire (Six infantry regiments and one cavalry regiment)



A company from the Green Devonshire Militia Regiment 1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

British Regiments in Dutch Service

There were two brigades of British soldiers in the service of the Prince of Orange. Each was comprised of three regiments and these each had an establishment strength of 600 privates in 12 companies of 50 soldiers.

Brigadier Colonel Mackay and his Scottish Brigade formed the second line of defence and was marching to Amesbury when the campaign ended. When going into quarters across London on 3 July, the battalion commanders were:

- Colonel Mackay

- Colonel Balfour

- Colonel Wauchope

The three regiments in the English Brigade arrived at Gravesend in early July and took no part in the campaign. These regimental commanders were:

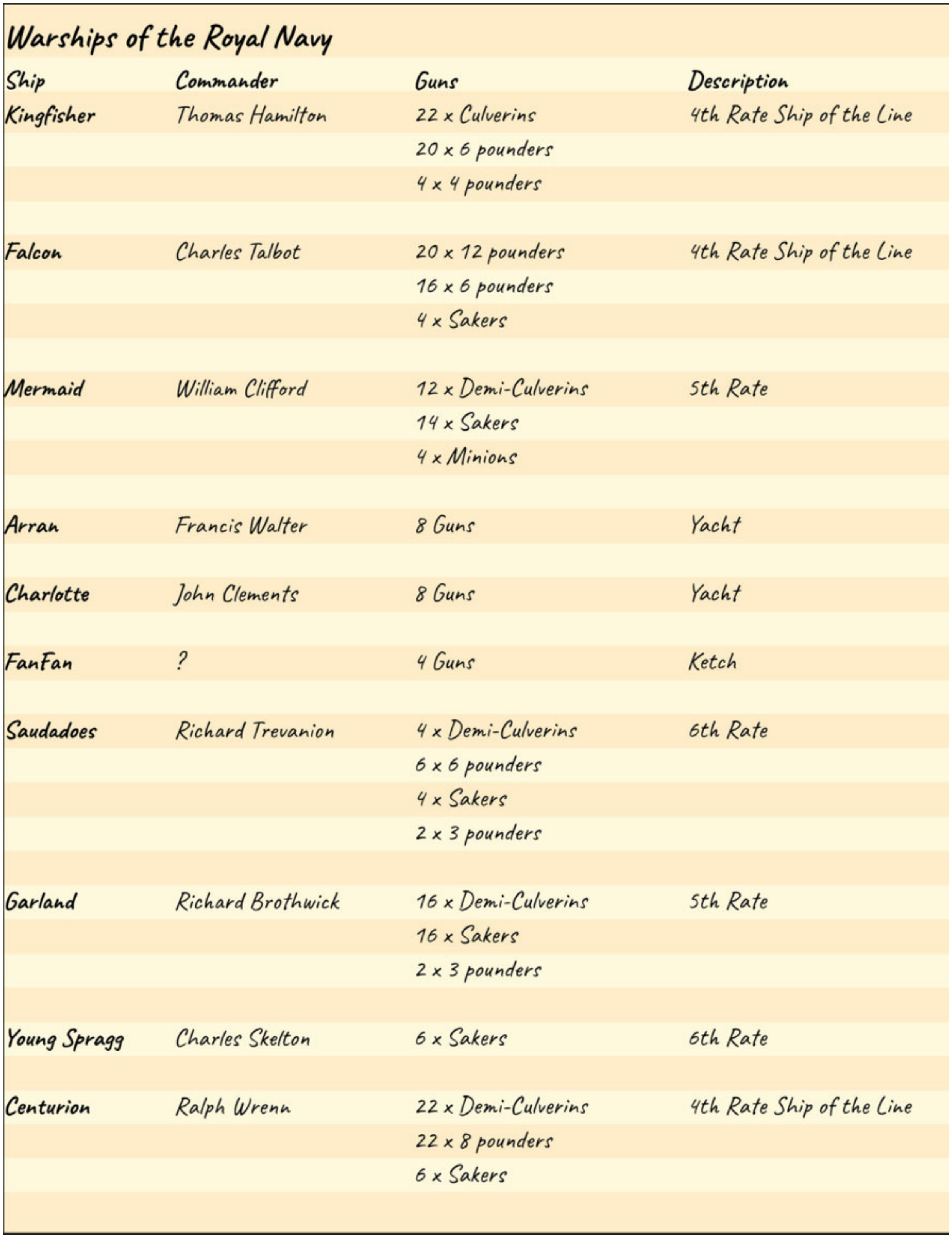
- Colonel Henry Bellasyse

- Colonel Thomas Monk

- Colonel Alexander Cannon

Early in the campaign, King James panicked and asked for the Scots Brigade to sail to Scotland and the on news of Monmouth's landing for the three English battalions to sail to London. However, the William of Orange had delayed their return to Britain and made sure they sailed only after paying off all debts and without any match or powder.

The Royal Navy



Warships of the Royal Navy

Ship	Commander	Guns	Description
Kingfisher	Thomas Hamilton	22 x Culverins	4th Rate Ship of the Line
		20 x 6 pounders	
		4 x 4 pounders	
Falcon	Charles Talbot	20 x 12 pounders	4th Rate Ship of the Line
		16 x 6 pounders	
		4 x Sakers	
Mermaid	William Clifford	12 x Demi-Culverins	5th Rate
		14 x Sakers	
		4 x Minions	
Arran	Francis Walter	8 Guns	Yacht
Charlotte	John Clements	8 Guns	Yacht
FanFan	?	4 Guns	Ketch
Saudadoes	Richard Trevanion	4 x Demi-Culverins	6th Rate
		6 x 6 pounders	
		4 x Sakers	
		2 x 3 pounders	
Garland	Richard Brothwick	16 x Demi-Culverins	5th Rate
		16 x Sakers	
		2 x 3 pounders	
Young Spragg	Charles Skelton	6 x Sakers	6th Rate
Centurion	Ralph Wrenn	22 x Demi-Culverins	4th Rate Ship of the Line
		22 x 8 pounders	
		6 x Sakers	

Scottish Whig Army

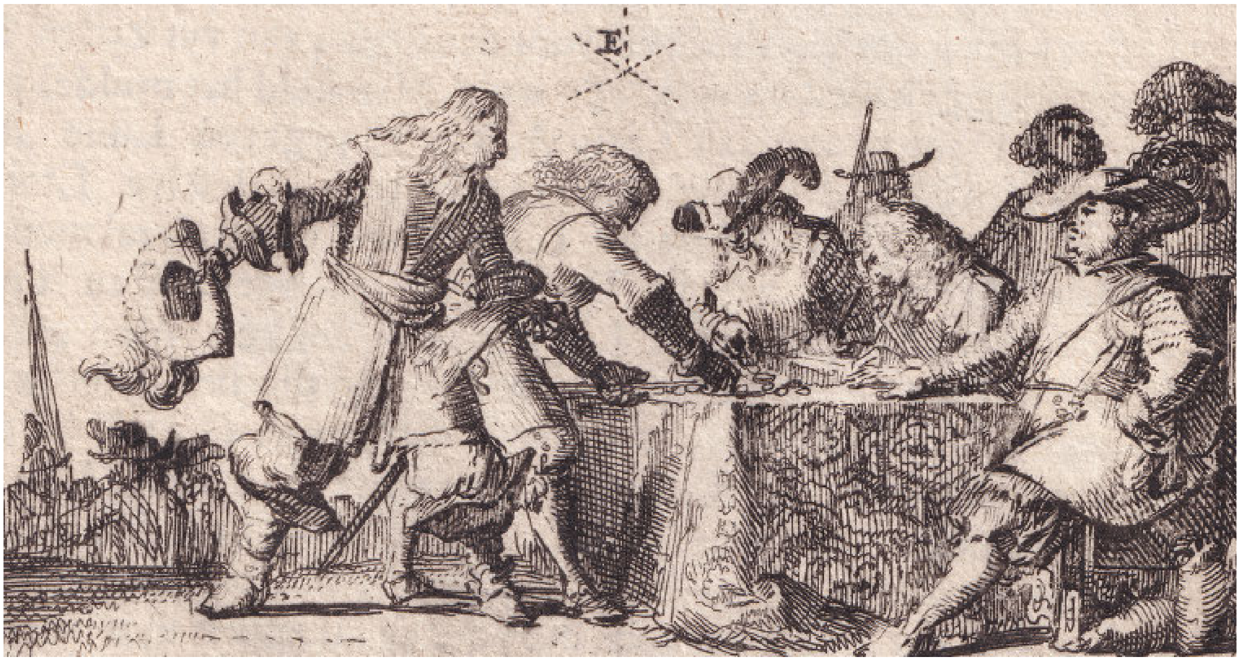
The Whig army that fought in Scotland was composed of raw volunteers, with only a core of extremely experienced fighters. This was due to Argyll recruiting the backbone of his army from the Scottish professional soldiers in Europe. These men had been in the service of the Protestant armies of the United Provinces and Brandenburg. An army council also surrounded Argyll and this was full of noble Scotsmen. These gentlemen had either fought in the Covenanter armies during the British Civil Wars, or they were involved in one of the many rebellions against the Stuart governance of Scotland. More recently, some had been defeated by Monmouth at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679. Even until the bitter end of the campaign, this pool of veterans created a feeling of invincibility within the army.

Command & Control

The Army Council

No Scottish army of the seventeenth-century could fight without its army council and this Whig army was blighted with a surfeit of advisors. The first Whig council of war was held in Amsterdam on 17 April 1685 and it was at this meeting that the Earl of Argyll was formally elected general. From this point onwards the council would be the key influencer on the campaign and each step or action agreed by everyone. This made command by committee a decisive characteristic of the Whig army in Scotland.

As with any committee, there were factions. There were those that supported Argyll (the Highlanders), those following Sir John Cochrane (the Lowlanders) and finally the church or Kirk faction. To these could be added the Covenanters, but these were split between Cochrane and the Kirk. Therefore, before each campaign move, the committee would need to agree that the outcome was for the greater good. As a result, any ambitious actions were stifled, while the chain of command became fragmented and slow to react.



The Army Council c.1672.

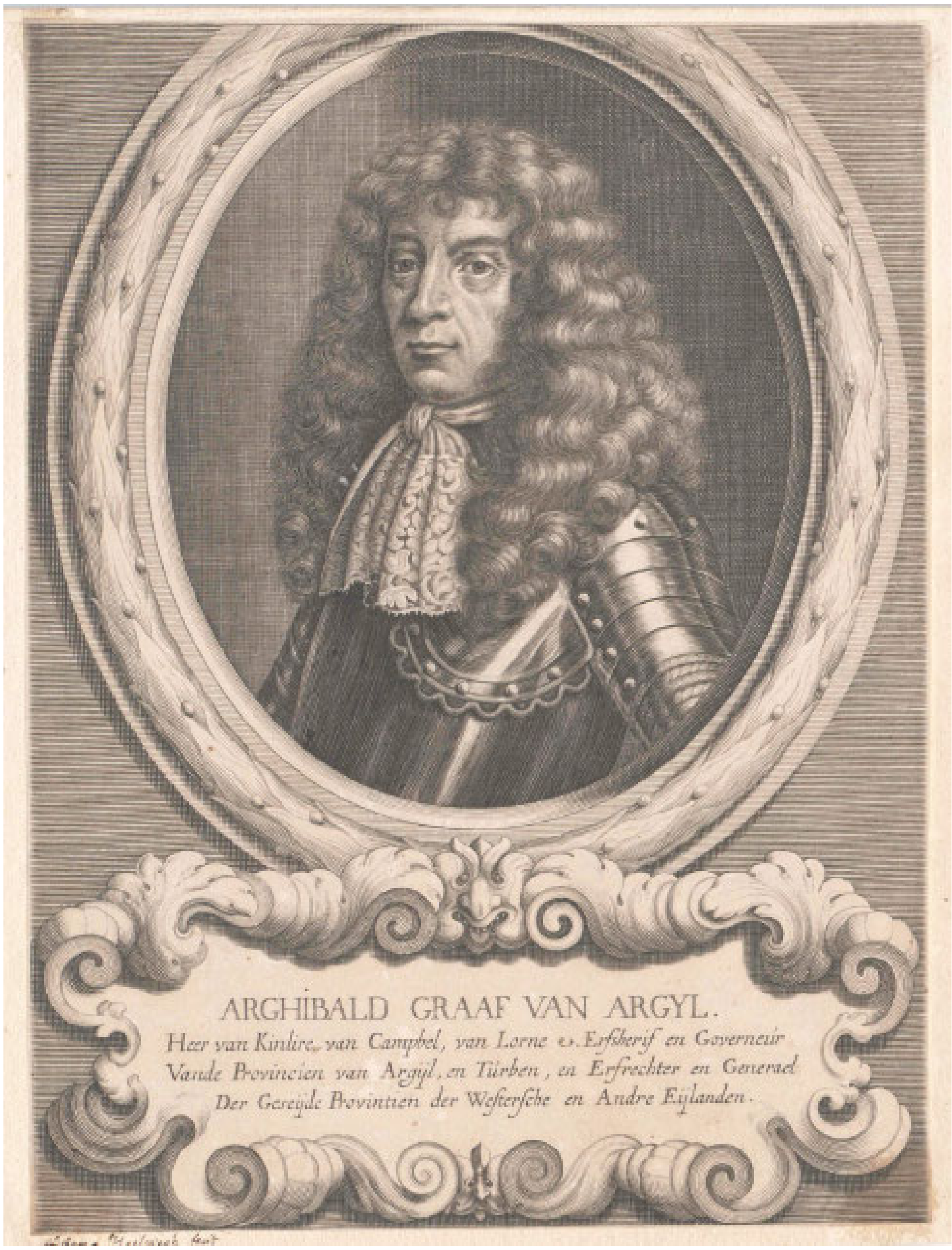
To add to Argyll's challenges, the secrets of the council were disclosed to a wide range of individuals, ultimately reaching the ear of the Government in Whitehall a week or so later. Luckily, it did not arrive in Edinburgh for a fortnight. Wisely or unwisely, while in

Amsterdam Argyll kept his destination and the plan agreed with the Duke of Monmouth secret from the council. Once the army landed in Scotland, it is possible that intelligence still arrived at the Scottish Government's door, but it was already out of date. As a result, it created more confusion than clarity in the Government camp.

Archibald Campbell the Earl of Argyll

Argyll was the elected leader and prime organiser of the invasion. His principal objective was the restoration of his property, titles and the overthrow of his clan rivals. It is important to understand that this was not his first attempt. A year earlier, Argyll had seen his ambitions dashed after British Government spies uncovered his plans and arrested many of his supporters. At the same time, he had seen Government agents extradite and execute his friend, Sir Thomas Armstrong. It was for this reason that Argyll was a nervous and fearful man, always looking over his shoulder, watching for assassins. Argyll had been in hiding for over two years when the news of King Charles II's death arrived and he was out of touch from the actual mood within his Scottish estates. This made him remote and appear high-handed when working with his other commanders.

For all this, Argyll was an experienced officer, although not overly successful. He was at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester as a captain in the Scots Footguards fighting for King Charles II. During the 1650s, he led his clansmen in the failed operations against the New Model Army in the Highlands. Argyll did not take part in the 1679 uprising but was a strong Covenanter. This resulted in a sham trial and his death sentence. However, he escaped into exile.


ARCHIBALD GRAAF VAN ARGYL.
Heer van Kinlire, van Campbel, van Lorne & Erfſherif en Governeur
Vande Provincien van Argyl, en Türben, en Erfrechter en Generael
Der Gereÿde Provintien der Weſterſche en Andre Eylanden.

Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll.

All this experience made Argyll a competent leader but not dynamic or innovative. In 1685, some of his actions appeared reckless, but the Earl was capable of strategic thinking even if he was a little over-ambitious. His biggest weakness was an inability to persuade the other council members to agree to his plans. This forced him to take a middle path rather than risk the fragmentation of the army command.

As one of the faction leaders, all the Highland and retainer units would follow his direct orders and would be influenced by his presence. However, the Lowland and veteran companies would look to other leaders first and therefore his appearance would not raise their morale. When in his homelands of Argyllshire, the Earl can move without the support of a local guide but would need this assistance once he crosses the county borders.

Lieutenant General Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree

Sir John Cochrane came from the Lowlands around Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, which meant that he has massive support when in these counties. When in this area, local men were willing to offer him shelter or fight for the cause. Therefore, if given the chance, he could raise a company of retainers in his name when in the Lowlands and Covenanter mobs would form when hearing he had landed in Scotland. However, even when Cochrane is in his homelands, he would need a guide to assist his movements.

As an officer, Sir John Cochrane had limited military training but had seen some action. This lack of experience did not affect his military abilities and he was a real soldier’s soldier and able to lead from the front. This made him a dynamic and aggressive commander, willing to take on the enemy, whatever the odds. Luckily, his veterans were from the same mould and would follow him anywhere. However, his skills were better used commanding just a couple of companies rather than a whole army and he would have struggled to command a mixed Highland, Lowland and veteran army.

Cochrane was the faction leader for the Lowlanders and the veterans and this means that his proximity to these units would increase their morale and willingness to fight. As a result, the veterans would follow him anywhere, against any opponent. However, as a Lowlander, he believed that the campaign should be fought south of the Clyde and he held this line in the army council discussions.

Colonel Sir Duncan Campbell, Laird of Auchinbreck

As a Campbell laird, Sir Duncan brought his retainer company and a band of Highlanders to the army. Auchinbreck was one of the most senior Highland lairds in the army and his men fought with vigour whenever he was close at hand. Auchinbreck's local knowledge enabled him to command a detachment without the need for a guide. While commanding the rearguard at the battle of Ardkinglas, Auchinbreck demonstrated an ability to take actions on his own initiative. He was a committed and experienced officer. Later he went on to command a regiment in the Williamite army.

Colonel Robert Elphinstone, Laird of Lapness

As a clan laird, Robert Elphinstone also brought his retainer company and some of his Highland tenants to the army. Not much is known of his military abilities, but he was entrusted with the defence of the magazine at Eilean Dearg. This indicates that he could command a detachment. However, Robert was quick to withdraw once the imminent Government attack became obvious, although he did re-join Argyll rather than return home. Overall, he is a competent but lacklustre political appointee.

Colonel John Ayloffe

Ayloffe was famous for his involvement in the Rye House Plot of 1683. However, he was not a soldier but was a satirist and writer with no military experience. It was his friendship with Argyll that secured his colonelcy and this made him the classic politically appointed officer with no abilities. However, he was skilfully supported by Major Fullerton and Captain Hume.

Colonel Richard Rumbold

Richard Rumbold is another player better known for his part in the Rye House Plot of 1683, but before this he was an officer in the New Model Army, reaching the rank of major. He fought at the battle of Worcester and later in Scotland against Argyll. However, once both men found themselves in exile, a friendship was created that made Rumbold the most senior and experienced military officer joining the Scottish expedition.

Under Argyll, Rumbold was made colonel over the cavalry and later led a mixed detachment to Ardkinglas. As a commander, Rumbold appears to have shown a good grasp of tactics and manoeuvred his forces without error. Therefore, he should be treated as an experienced and dynamic officer.

However, he was not a faction leader and his proximity would not raise his men’s morale or overly influence their fighting ability. He had a good eye for the ground, while his key ability was to command an army, rather than just a company or troop. As he was not a local man, Rumbold needed a guide when on the march. When with the other commanders, such as Argyll or Cochrane, his influence created a favourable result. For all this, he was not Scottish and he has no influence or vote in the army council.

Major Fullerton

Fullerton was an experienced officer who was able to command a detachment without a direct line of command back to the general. However, he was not a faction leader but does have influence over veteran companies. He was a close friend of Hume and at Greenock took a couple of files of men ashore in the face of a superior cavalry force. Later, he elected to stay with Argyll rather than march south with Cochrane. He was brave, had military self-confidence and was loyal.

Major Henderson

Major Henderson was a veteran officer who was capable of commanding a detachment and has knowledge of military tactics and discipline. However, he was not a faction leader, but his abilities were enough to give him influence over the veteran companies. When with a more senior officer he brings these military skills to the commander.

Captain Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth

As one of the key historical references for the campaign, Sir Patrick Hume has an important part to play in the army. He was both politically astute and militarily minded. He was elected captain by his veteran company and could be considered their faction leader and would raise their morale when in close proximity. He was never given command of a detachment but appears to be brave and honest. Unlike some of his superior officers, Hume was on the Council of War and therefore can override his commanding officer, if he wishes.

Captain Charles Campbell

Argyll returned to Scotland with his sons Charles and William. Charles, possibly in his late twenties was the elder of the two brothers. Charles was left to raise the Highlanders after the fiery cross was lit at Dunstaffnage Castle. On his march south to Tarbert, Charles gathered possibly 500 to 800 Highlanders to the colours. After this Charles was placed in command of a troop of horse under Colonel Rumbold.

Later, Charles was sent onto the Cowal peninsular to gather supplies, recruits and intelligence. It was here, that his small command fought the first battle of 1685. This was against a superior government force at Glendaruel. In this action, Charles demonstrated good tactical abilities and control over his men. Therefore, as a commander, Charles should be treated as a capable and dynamic officer. He could raise the morale of Highland units when close at hand. As a local laird, Charles could manoeuvre his detachment without the need for guides. After the demise of King James II's government in 1688, Charles held the seat of Campbeltown as a member of the Scottish parliament.

Magazine & Mustering

Arms & Equipment

Before his departure, Argyll purchased weapons for an expected army of 10,000 soldiers. This included everything from the latest Dutch firelocks with bayonets, to halberds, swords, pistols and over 25,000 pounds of gunpowder. Alongside this were the colours and drums for the infantry battalions, armour for the cavalry troopers and artillery pieces on land carriages. However, the magazine also included a stock of specialist double-barrelled muskets with retractable bayonets, four-barrelled pistols and other experimental weaponry.

To transport all the arms, ammunition and soldiers, Argyll hired three warships, Anna, David and Sophie. During the campaign, the Whigs seized up to three merchant ships and the fleet was augmented by numerous small inshore rowing boats and skiffs that brought the recruits to the army.

Horses

Argyll did not transport any military horses from Holland. Therefore, all the mounts arrived with recruits or were collected from the countryside. Only the horses from the laird's households would have been trained for combat. The rest of these mounts would not have had military training and would have been an unstable fighting platform. Only around 120 horses were seized by the army.

Recruitment & Training

Alongside the core veterans, Argyll's army was recruited from two sources, the Campbell Highland clansmen and the predominantly Lowland Covenanters. The Highlanders were raised by the Earl or his son Charles as they travelled through the countryside. The plan was for thousands of loyal Campbells to enlist in the army, once the fiery cross was lit on 15 May 1685. This was the signal to the clan that they should join their chieftain with arms and rations. It was this act that formally started the campaign and declared war on the Catholic usurper James, Duke of York. However, as Argyllshire had been garrisoned by unruly companies of Highland Watch for over two years, the tenants and their lairds were far from enthusiastic about joining the fight.

Those clan chiefs that did join Argyll brought their retainers and a selection of tenants to the colours. These men were formed into companies and issued weapons from the stores, but no formal enlistment appears to have taken place. The Lowlanders would have made their way by small boats to join the Whigs and these men may have been enlisted and issued weapons before being placed into infantry companies. The army was formally mustered at Tarbert on 27 May 1685. Three battalions of infantry, each of five companies, plus three troops of horse were formed. No artillery train or artillery brigade was created.

The Cavalry

The Scottish Whigs had only one cavalry unit, Colonel Rumbold’s Regiment. This was comprised of two troops of dragoons and one light Whig retainer horse troop under the command of Argyll’s son Charles Campbell. The Scottish Whig cavalry were described as being good dragoons. The troops never fought together in a combined squadron. Instead, they fought as individual troops or squads.

Unlike the other Lowlanders, the troopers of the Whig dragoons arrived with little in the way of weaponry other than a sword and horse. These were the best of the Lowland recruits and possibly from noble families and had learnt good horsemanship skills. The troop of Whig retainers contained the mounted household of all the Campbell lairds and from Argyll’s supporters. They joined Charles Campbell after the fiery cross was lit, they came armed with swords, pistols and targets (small shields). On enlisting they were issued with double-barrelled firelock carbines, pistols, bandoliers and swords. This made them into formidable opponents.

The Infantry

The Earl of Argyll mustered his army at Tarbert on 27 May 1685. At this point in the campaign the Whigs had around 1,800 soldiers, predominately infantry. These soldiers were formed into three regiments under a colonel and each was to contain five companies of 90 to 100 men. They were a mixture of one veteran, plus Lowland & Highland companies. Each company was subdivided into three divisions under the command of a corporal.

During the campaign, these regiments were split into individual companies, or combined into ad hoc brigades. As a result, the regiments never really existed as fixed military units, especially after the Government forces were engaged. Argyll was hoping to enlist up to a dozen regiments and had the drums, colours and weapons needed to raise these units. It was probable that the veteran companies were originally recruited to form the officer core and the NCOs of these regiments.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck’s Regiment of Foot

This regiment would have had one retainer company, one veteran company, one Lowland company and two Highland companies. The company officers were:

- Colonel Auchinbreck (Whig Laird’s Foot)
- Lt. Colonel Alexander Campbell (Whig Highland Foot)

•Major James Henderson (Whig Veteran Foot)

•Captain Duncanson (Whig Lowland Foot)

•Unknown Captain (Whig Highland Foot)

Henderson’s, Duncanson’s and one other company went with Rumbold to Ardkinglas.

Colonel Robert Elphinson of Lapness’s Regiment of Foot

This regiment had one retainer company, one veteran company and three Highland companies. The five companies were:

•Colonel Lapness (Whig Laird’s Foot)

•Lt. Colonel Donald Campbell of Barbreck (Whig Highland Foot)

•Major John Campbell (Whig Highland Foot)

•Captain James Denham (Whig Veteran Foot)

•Unknown Captain (Whig Highland Foot)

Three companies formed the Eilean Dearg garrison, while the other two, including Denham’s, marched with Argyll to Ardkinglas.

Colonel John Ayloffe’s Regiment of Foot

The regiment appears to have had one veteran company and four Lowland companies. The company officers were:

•Colonel Ayloffe (Whig Lowland Foot)

•Lt. Col. Griffith (Whig Lowland Foot)

•Major John Fullerton (Whig Lowland Foot)

•Captain Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth (Whig Veteran Foot)

•Another Captain (Whig Lowland Foot)

The regiment was with Argyll’s when he marched to Ardkinglas and Hume’s company fought in the battle.

Whig Covenanter Mobs

The Lowland Scots were much like any other civilian from the north of Britain, but with slightly more religious zeal. Therefore, on the news that Sir John Cochrane and the Earl of Argyll had returned to Scotland, small groups of Covenanters began to muster in towns. Here they would rant about ‘James the Catholic Tyrant’. Under the strong words of fellow Covenanters, they elected a leader and marched to connect with other comrades. Once a mob of 100 or more men gathered, they would set off to join Argyll’s army.

Naval Artillery

Argyll transported up to 16 pieces of artillery to Scotland. During the army’s stay at Eilean Dearg, a battery of field artillery was established on the island. This had four pieces, probably Sakers. However, all these were captured after the castle fell to Commodore Hamilton. Two of the larger guns captured at this time were called Glyd-Gun and Plus Ultra, so were possibly Culverins. These were returned to the 10th Earl of Argyll on 25 June 1700.

Argyll could only field an artillery train if volunteers could be recruited from the Dutch naval crews. In this case, the gun crews would be civilian contractors commanded by a master gunner from Anna or Sophie. As no horses or wagons were available, the artillery could only be deployed from transport ships. Therefore, they can only be placed in fixed batteries of up to four light or field pieces. Argyll could field no more than three of these batteries.

English Whig Army

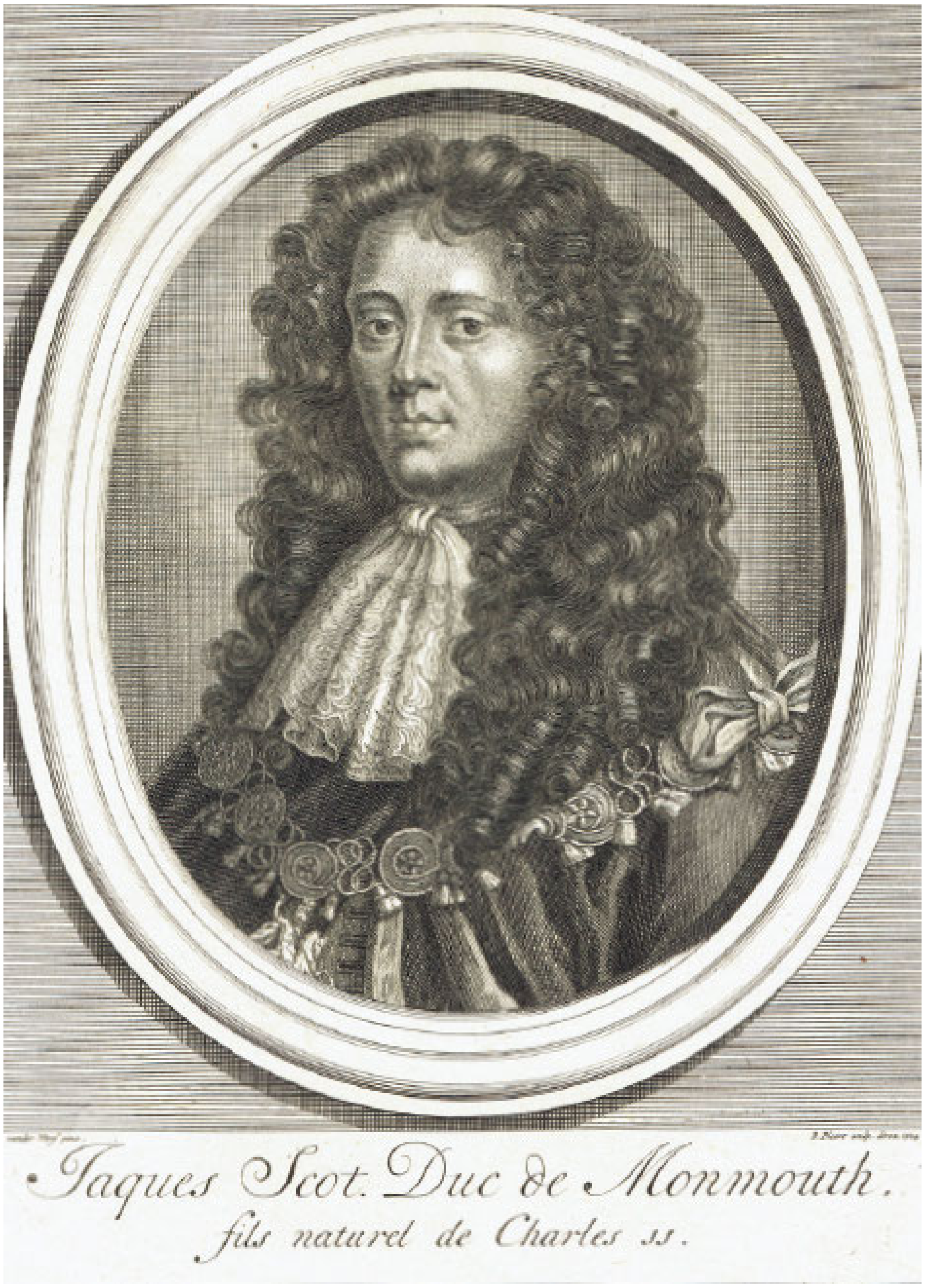
When the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme on 11 June 1685, he jumped ashore with a small officer corps and later the light artillery brigade. However, the bulk of his army was recruited over the next two weeks and every man was a volunteer. These soldiers started as raw recruits, but over the days that followed, the captains and NCOs shaped them into companies and then battalions. Within two weeks, the army had become proficient in the drills, postures and exercises needed to fight. After the engagement at Norton St Philip, the soldiers became battle hardened. By the time they marched across Sedgemoor, these volunteers were in a trained army and eager to fight. However, it was the regimental officers who kept cohesion on the battlefield and without these men the volunteers would waver and run.

Command & Control

James Scott, First Duke of Monmouth & Buccleuch.

The Duke of Monmouth had been a professional soldier since he was aged 16. Through his natural military abilities, he had risen from a cavalry captain to the Captain General of the British army, with executive powers. When in French service, Monmouth fought under the great Turenne and became a lieutenant general in the army of King Louis XIV.

During his career Monmouth had gained the reputation of being an aggressive, skilled and daring commander. He understood the need to take and hold the initiative, but Monmouth was not afraid to lead from the front and this was something he did repeatedly during his life. However, he was experienced enough to know the limits of his men and the abilities of his enemies. This expertise was recognised outside Britain and in 1684, Monmouth received two invitations to command foreign armies. The first came from Sweden, but the second offer was for Monmouth to become the commander of a Protestant coalition army. The states of Holland, Brandenburg, Spain and Imperial Austria were raising this army to fight against France in 1685.


Jaques Scot. Duc de Monmouth.
fils naturel de Charles II.

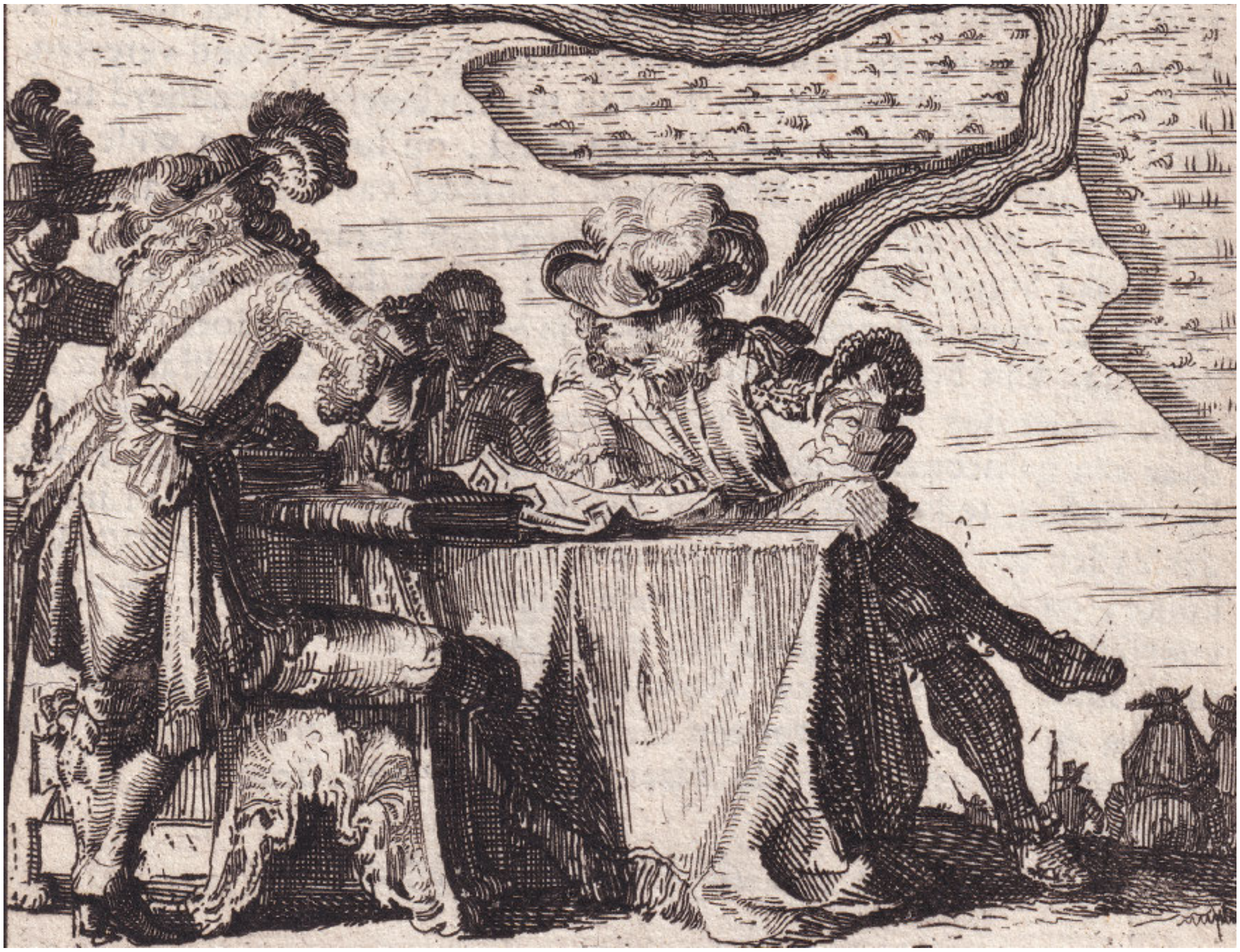
James Scott, Duke of Monmouth & Buccleuch.

Monmouth’s biggest weakness was a tendency to fall into a deep melancholy state after a succession of setbacks. When in this state, his judgement became clouded and those around him could influence his decision-making process, especially when outside the army council. In these instances, he could be described as weak willed, like his grandfather. Otherwise, he could take decisive action when he had enough information.

His apparent preference for activity at night was probably due to the quality of his men, whose lack of battlefield experience could be countered by the element of surprise. However, the use of night attacks to gain the initiative does demonstrate a degree of confidence not seen in other commanders of the age. Through his actions during the campaign, it is clear that Monmouth followed the military disciplines by correctly posting guards, sending out mounted patrols and preparing for battle. However, due to a lack of local knowledge, when conducting the campaign, Monmouth required guidance from his Scoutmaster General, Captain Kidd, and other local men.

On the battlefield, Monmouth would automatically raise the morale of any unit closed to him, especially if he dismounted and picked up his half-pike. It was this bravery that endeared his soldiers to their captain general, ‘Jacky’. Throughout the campaign, he showed loyalty to his men and only abandoned the field once all was lost.

The Council of War



The Council of War c.1672.

Unlike their Scottish counterparts, the English Whigs did not have a fractured army council. Instead, they adopted the standard practice of bringing together the senior officers to review, discuss and agree on their next move. The first council of war consisted of the Duke of Monmouth as General, Lord Grey as lieutenant general, the two brigadier generals, the paymaster general and Colonel Brandt. After being crowned, Monmouth also established a privy council.

Monmouth appears to have consulted the council of war throughout the campaign. This included the decision to march towards Bristol rather than heading to London. However, he also overruled them by ignoring the motion to disband the army at Frome. Likewise, it was Monmouth’s decision to attack the enemy camp at Westonzoyland. Therefore, the Whig council of war should be considered an important part of the campaign strategy and it gives Monmouth the chance to take the right action. There is strong evidence that there were several enemy agents acting in the army, possibly even in the army council itself. These spies fed good intelligence to both Whitehall and Feversham during the campaign. Other staff and officers in Monmouth’s army were:

- General of Horse Lord Grey

- Major General Colonel Brandt

- Brigadier of Horse Colonel Fletcher

- Brigadier of Foot Colonel Venner

- Colonel Stephenson, Military Advisor

- Captain Samuel Storey (Commissary General)

- Benjamin Temple (Chirurgeon)

•William Oliver (Surgeon)

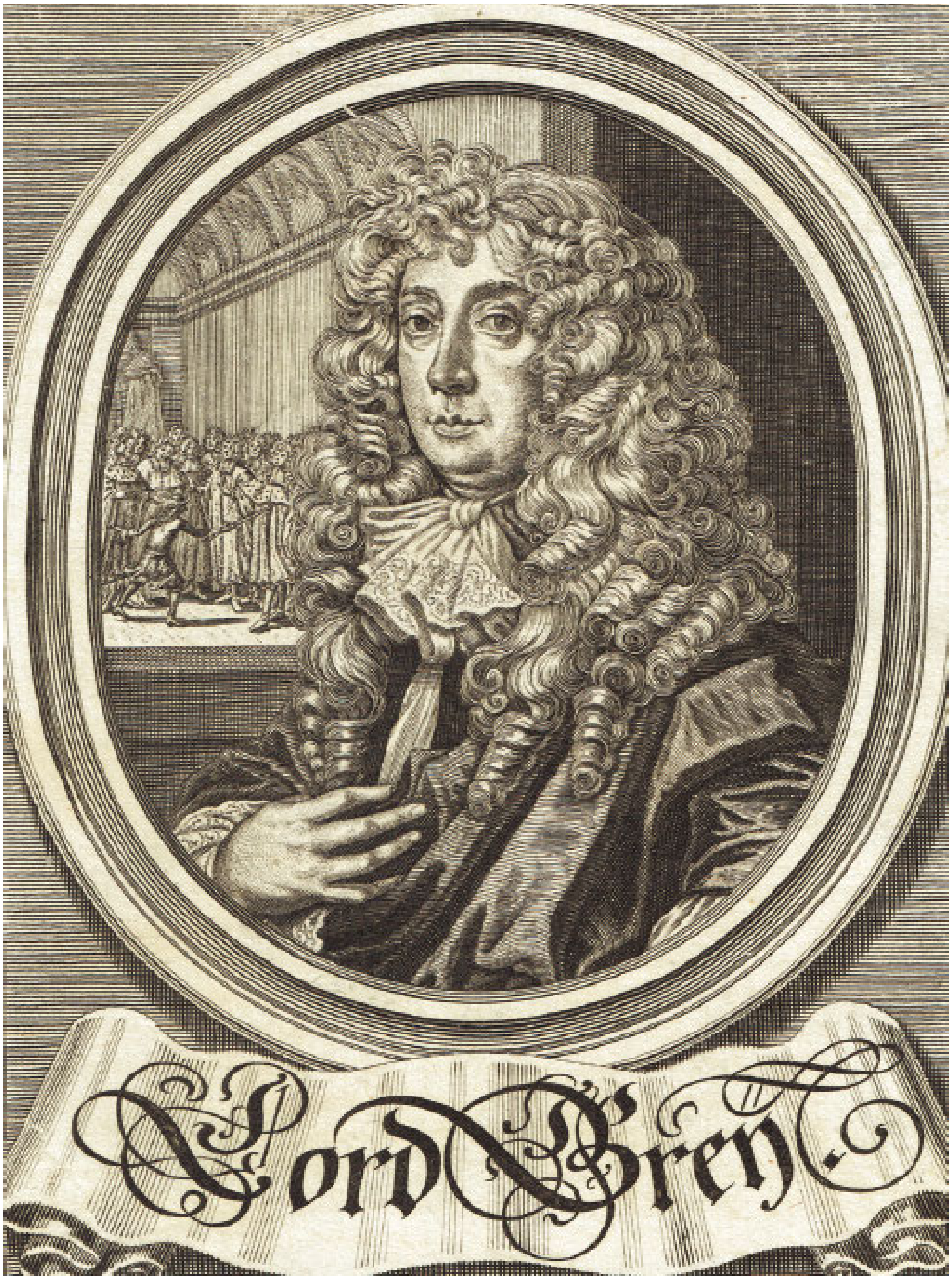
•Dr Robert Ferguson (Chaplain)

However, this well-designed army command structure was destroyed within the first few days of the campaign, after the murder of Mr Dare at the hands of Colonel Fletcher. The result was an enlarged council with Captain Richard Goodenough becoming the paymaster, while Captain Thompson was elevated to quartermaster general. It is possible that Colonel Bovett and Colonel Matthews became brigadier generals of the foot, with Lieutenant Colonel Holmes, Lieutenant Colonel Foulkes and Major Wade having a seat at the table. Colonel Venner appears to have stayed on in the council but due to his wound no longer held an active field officer position. A later addition to the council was Colonel Speke who joined the army at Chard with a squadron of irregular horse.

General of Horse, Lord Grey of Warke

Forde, Lord Grey was a close friend and confidant of the Duke of Monmouth. Grey was a leading Whig and took part in the many plots against James, Duke of York. In 1684, Grey was captured alongside Sir Thomas Armstrong but managed to escape back to Holland. Although Grey had little military experience, on his return to Amsterdam, he was offered command of a regiment of Brandenburg horse. Grey’s part in the preparation for the invasion was vital and he was instrumental in the hiring of the transport ships and the warehousing of weapons in Amsterdam.

Initially, Lord Grey was to act as Monmouth’s deputy and advisor, rather than take on a battlefield role. However, after the Fletcher-Dare incident, Grey became general of horse and was placed in nominal charge of the attack on Bridport. It was at this first encounter that his lack of military discipline and experience almost caused disaster. After this Monmouth side-lined Grey and ensured that more experienced officers took charge of the Whig cavalry. However, at Sedgemoor, Lord Grey successfully rallied his squadron of horse and this demonstrates that he was perhaps more than a mere puppet.



Forde, Lord Grey of Warke.

As a commander, Lord Grey should be treated as a raw or politico officer and he should always be accompanied by a guide and a mentor if he is to command a detachment. When close to Whig cavalry, he would lift their morale, but beyond this, Lord Grey is of little battlefield use. However, in the council of war, he is strong willed and gives excellent advice. As a close friend, Grey could pull the Duke out of any melancholy state. Grey was also loyal to the cause and was willing to fight on, regardless of the situation. Therefore, Grey was an important support to Monmouth rather than the army and if the rules allow, his moral compass will improve the Duke’s thinking and his ability to take the initiative.

Colonel Brandt, Count of Horne

This experienced Dutch officer has been missing from the accounts of the 1685 campaign for years. However, Colonel Brandt commanded the combined scythe battalion and the second line at Sedgemoor. Brandt appears to have been a military advisor and may have been the major general. As a commander, Brandt should be treated as a veteran officer, but would need the support of a guide when commanding a detachment. Likewise, when close to Monmouth he would provide insight on the battlefield and experience when in the council of war. Brandt could hold his men together and would increase their morale. According to a Dutch newspaper, it was Brandt who was captured with Monmouth near Ringwood and not the artillery officer Captain Buyse.

Colonel Andrew Fletcher

Prior to the campaign of 1685, Colonel Fletcher appears to have been in Spanish service in Flanders where he became acquainted with Monmouth. After this, the Scottish colonel developed a close friendship with the Duke, which resulted in him joining the Whig expedition. Monmouth rated Fletcher enough to offer him command of the Whig cavalry as brigadier general. However, after the Scotsman murdered Thomas Dare in Lyme, he was arrested and played no further part in the campaign. However, if Fletcher had remained with the army, something only possible on the wargame table, he should be treated as an experienced and capable officer. He could command an independent detachment with a guide, or a wing of the army.

Colonel Samuel Venner

Colonel Venner was an experienced officer, but very much a political mover. His father was the Fifth Monarchist who attempted to kill the newly restored King Charles II in 1662. However, it is not clear as to the level of his military abilities, but based upon the evidence he should be considered as a politico. In the council of war, he quickly became negative and could induce a melancholy state in Monmouth. After being wounded at Bridport, militarily Venner took a backseat and was removed from direct command of the Red Regiment.

It is also possible that Venner or one of his close friends was a government agent. Therefore, if he was in a council meeting intelligence could reach the Government within two days. During the campaign, Venner would try and persuade Monmouth to attack Bristol. However, once this option was removed from the campaign, Venner may slip away from the army.

Captain Sir John Kidd

Captain Kidd was the only individual knighted by Monmouth and this may have been due to his service while on campaign after years of friendship. John Kidd was head gamekeeper to the rich Whig and friend of Monmouth, Thomas Thynne of Longleat. Kidd had been a militia officer alongside Thynne, but it was after his master's murder in 1681, that Kidd appears to have started working for Monmouth. In 1685, Captain Kidd joined Monmouth in Holland, just prior to the fleet's departure and may have been acting as a spy in the west country.

Captain Kidd's knowledge of the West Country and contacts would have made him the ideal scoutmaster. He was often found ahead of the army, bringing in recruits, putting up declarations and looking for the enemy. When near Longleat, either in west Wiltshire or east Somerset, Captain Kidd can turn civilian mobs into a troop of horse and companies of volunteer infantry. He can also lead a detachment of horse and recruit local guides while in Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Gloucestershire. However, if Kidd is killed or wounded, then the Whig army would lose its ability to recruit guides and its over-the-horizon eyes and ears.

Captain Anton Buyse

Formally, the Train of Artillery came under the command of the Master of Ordnance, while the captain of artillery or senior commissionaire, Captain Buyse commanded the Whig's light artillery brigade. As an experienced and professional officer, Buyse was able to act on his own initiative to place the guns. Under his direction were the master gunners or pointing officers, who would lay and load the guns. Once the piece was ready to fire, Buyse would then order it to be fired.

Colonel Speke

Colonel Speke was a local landlord and member of the minor West Country gentry. Therefore, Speke was an important regional Whig and this allowed him to raise three troops of horse. However, his lack of military experience and equipment turns these men into irregulars rather than volunteers. Colonel Speke can command detachments and patrols without the need for a guide, but he would not serve under other officers. Therefore, Speke is the classic politico officer and weak willed with it. In the council of war, Speke would side with Venner and always put his own interests first. Ultimately, Speke slipped away with his men when the campaign was at its most difficult phase.

Colonel Foulkes

Colonel Foulkes was an experienced professional soldier, possibly serving as a captain in the English Brigade in the service of the Dutch, but also in the army of Brandenburg. In Holland, Captain Foulkes was responsible for the recruitment of the officers that joined Monmouth. After the landing, Foulkes was responsible for raising the White Regiment. He was a competent and skilled officer, with the ability to train soldiers. Therefore, the White Regiment would become trained faster than the other battalions. However, their morale would drop if he was not with them. Due to his lack of local knowledge, Foulkes could not command a detachment without a guide.

Colonel Holmes

Colonel Holmes was the commander of the Green Regiment and landed with Monmouth at Lyme. He was an experienced officer, leading from the front and demonstrated bravery and initiative. Holmes was an ex-Fifth Monarchist and rose to the rank of major in the New Model Army in Scotland. However, in 1655 he took part in the plot to overthrow Cromwell and as a result found himself in exile. After the Restoration, Holmes became a leading agent for the Whig movement and carried messages into England. While Holmes was with the Green Regiment their morale would be raised a level, but this would drop should he fall, resulting in the unit becoming inactive and breaking.

Colonel Matthews

Colonel Matthews was another close friend of Monmouth and an experienced professional soldier, possibly also serving as a captain in the English Brigade and in the service of Brandenburg. Captain Matthews had travelled into London with messages before the invasion and later joined Monmouth at Lyme to take command of the Yellow Regiment. Matthews was a skilled officer and was able to withdraw his men in good order at Sedgemoor. Therefore, his companies would stay organised under fire while he was with them, but they would quickly become disorganised without his influence. However, due to his lack of local knowledge, Matthews could not command a detachment without a guide.

Colonel Richard Bovett

Colonel Bovett was from Taunton and a key character in the Whig movement. He was both an experienced officer and a political adviser. Bovett had massive local support in Taunton where he had been a member of parliament under Cromwell and colonel of the town militia. In 1655, Bovett raised the militia and closed the gates to the Royalists led by Colonel Penruddock. Bovett had travelled from London to Taunton before Monmouth landed at Lyme. He was tasked with turning the Whig civilian mob that had gathered there into a battalion and capturing the town. Unfortunately, the town militia was called out before this could happen and Bovett had to wait for the right moment to seize the town.

Bovett should be considered a strong-willed commander and able to lead a wing of the army. His local knowledge enables him to command a detachment without a guide when in Wiltshire, Somerset or Dorset. As colonel of the Taunton Blue Regiment, Bovett kept the unit together, but if he is lost or captured, the battalion would quickly become disorganised.

Major Manley

Major Manley travelled from Holland with the fleet and in the first days of the campaign led several patrols. One of these patrols clashed with militia horse near Bridport and in the combat, Manley was injured. After this Major Manley became a messenger taking intelligence and letters to and from London. As the only major of cavalry, Manley would have been an experienced and competent officer. He can command a detachment without a guide but has no impact on the morale of the men around him.

The Whig vanguard, with Wade's men on the right flank, engages the Government army at the Battle of Sedgemoor. (From multiple collections)

Major Nathanial Wade

Wade was from Bristol and another key member of the Whig movement. Initially, Wade was a friend of Monmouth and while in exile also befriended Argyll. It was Dr Ferguson, Wade and Lord Grey who brought together the Scottish and English factions in Amsterdam. Wade was responsible for purchasing some of the arms and loading the transports.

Although Wade could be seen as a politico, he was trained as an officer and commanded a militia unit during the 1670s. However, Wade appears to have had a natural aptitude to command and lead men. During the campaign, Wade grows as an officer both in experience and competence. After Bridport, Major Wade took over the command of the Red Regiment. Therefore, he should be treated as a strong-willed, skilled and intelligent officer. Wade demonstrated an ability to raise the morale of any unit he commanded and hold them together, even if pressed. With his local knowledge, Wade was able to command a detachment without a guide. Although Wade argued for an attack on Bristol, once this option was removed, he stayed true to Monmouth.

Captain John Jones

Captain Jones was an ex-New Model Army officer with many years of experience. At Sedgemoor, he rallied his squadron and had the conviction to lead them across the moor. After crossing the Upper Plungeon, Jones attacked and pushed back two troops of Government horse, only to be broken by an overwhelming counter-attack. Therefore, Captain Jones can increase the morale of his volunteer squadron and he can command a detachment without a guide.

Colonel Danvers

Based in London, Colonel Danvers was an important character in the Whig movement. When the time was right, Danvers was to lead the London mob in an uprising against the Government. This would have comprised of up to 10 irregular companies of apprentice boys, traders, militiamen and led by Whigs from the Guards regiments.

The plan was for Danvers to lead the uprising if the London garrison dropped dangerously low or Monmouth’s army reached Andover or Salisbury. The London mob was to appear on the streets and seize the Tower of London and its magazine. Once this had happened the irregulars would have become organised volunteer companies and marched on Whitehall. This would have forced James to flee England. It was possibly for this reason that the Government kept a large reserve force in the capital. During the campaign, Monmouth repeatedly ordered Danvers to rise, but he was in hiding and refused to call out the mob.

Charles Gerard, Lord Brandon & First Earl of Macclesfield

Charles Gerard, Lord Brandon was a close friend of Monmouth and royalist hero of the British Civil Wars. In 1648 and again in 1649 he was with the Prince of Wales in the low countries and possibly in Liege in July or September of 1648. As lieutenant general in the English army in 1678, Gerard was the Duke’s second in command in Europe and had a wealth of military experience. Later in 1681, he hosted Monmouth’s triumphant tour of Cheshire. Before the invasion, Lord Brandon was a key player in the preparations. Once news of Monmouth’s landing reached Chester, he was responsible for mustering the Whig mobs in the area.

Supply train guarded by a troop of cavalry c.1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

The plan was for the Cheshire Whigs to rise and act as a diversion drawing some Government forces north from London. When coupled with Monmouth's march east from Lyme, this could have reduced the size of the London garrison and enabled Colonel Danvers to lead his uprising. However, in May 1685 an arrest warrant was issued by Whitehall for Lord Brandon, forcing him into hiding and stopping all thought of co-ordinated uprisings taking place in the northwest.

If the Cheshire mob had mobilised under Lord Brandon, they would have formed into irregular companies and tried to seize Chester before marching south on London. As the campaign progressed, Monmouth was awaiting news of his Cheshire supporters and their poor showing was a deciding factor in his retreat to Bridgwater. Although Brandon didn't rise in 1685, the Whigs did draw several troops of dragoons and around 1,000 Irish soldiers into the area. Lord Brandon could command any number of irregular companies, which if they captured a militia armoury would have been upgraded to volunteer companies. His military prowess would allow him to command a detachment without a guide.

Magazine & Mustering

Arms & Equipment

As part of the preparations for the invasion, Monmouth's agents purchased all the equipment needed to wage a military campaign in the late seventeenth-century. Amongst this paraphernalia were the latest double-barrelled firelock carbines, quadbarrelled pistols, standard pistols, swords, pikes, halberds, spontoons, cuirasses, helmets, grenades, half-pikes, plus four light field pieces. Then there were both matchlock and firelock muskets, bandoleers, flints, match, flasks plus the tons of gunpowder needed for the musketeers. To form the army into companies and troops, there were colours, drums, trumpets and uniforms in the stores. When Monmouth sailed from Amsterdam on 30 May 1685, the fleet contained weapons for an army of around 5,000 men, in five infantry battalions and over 20 troops of horse.

However, there were four other sources of arms for the Whigs. Firstly, there were hidden stockpiles of weapons across the country. Many of these, such as those at Ford Abbey survived the 1684 seizures and were collected after the Whigs landed. These arms dumps would have contained everything from flintlock muskets, pistols and carbines to old swords or half-pikes. As a result, there would have been a lack of standardisation, limiting the military usefulness of these weapons and relegating them to the irregulars.

The second source of weapons was the advanced shipments of arms. The Whigs sent weapons to London via merchant ships from Rotterdam and these then travelled west in carts. They were secretly stockpiled. In addition to this method, approximately 5,000 weapons were dispatched on the Fly. This small vessel sailed two weeks before the departure of the main fleet, but the Fly’s destination is not known, so it could have been heading to Bristol, Bridgwater or Chester. Unfortunately for the Whigs, the Fly was captured off the Isle of Wight at the end of May.

The final source of arms came from the militia armouries and supplies captured during the campaign. This included Taunton Castle, where not only militia weapons were captured but also the stockpile of nearly 1,000 weapons seized in 1684. To this could be added the contents of wagons found at Wells and at Taunton.

Horses

The Whigs did not have the transportation facilities for military horses and although some mounts arrived with new recruits, almost every horse had to be seized or collected from the countryside. Initially, the Whigs paid for horses, but by the time the army arrived at Taunton, Monmouth had received letters of complaint from owners. As a result, he re-issued the orders that all horses should be purchased. However, these mounts would not have had military training and therefore would have been unstable in a fight. It is possible that the Whigs seized around 1,200 horses.

Recruitment & Training

The purchase of drums, colours and uniforms, plus the issuing of commissions to officers while onboard the Helderenberg shows that the forming of the new battalions of foot and troops of horse had been agreed before the departure from Holland. As many of the Whigs had been preparing for the rising for years, this had enabled small groups of men to practise weapon drills under Whig officers like Nathanial Wade. Other men, such as Captain Kidd, saw service in the militia. However, almost all the core officers had seen service in one or more of the European regular armies of Britain, Brandenburg, France, Spain or the United Provinces.

On the evening of 10 June 1685, Colonel Venner went ashore at Chideock to spread the word of the imminent landing. As a result, recruits started to arrive within hours of Monmouth stepping ashore at seven o’clock the following evening. These men were quickly enlisted into the first regular companies or mounted troops, and formed the core of the new army. The Whig volunteers predominantly came from a town-based trade background, rather than being the classic farm labourers. A good number of men arrived with their sons or friends.

The recruitment process was for a clerk, accompanied by an officer, drummer and the company corporals, to set up a table under a tree or the company colour. At Lyme, the muster point was Monmouth’s green standard, emblazoned with the motto ‘Fear Nothing but God’. As each man arrived at the table, the clerk took down the name of each recruit and issued him a ticket. For the infantry, the officer allocated the new soldier to a corporal. Once several files, each of six men, had been mustered, the corporal marched his recruits off to the army quartermaster. On arrival, the soldier's ticket was checked and their name was placed on a roll. They would then be issued equipment as a musketeer or pikeman. After this, the corporal marched them to the allotted company where the sergeant would put them into a squad under a lance corporal. They would now start their basic training. For the mounted members of the mob, they were sent to the quartermaster of a troop of cavalry and issued arms.

The Duke of Monmouth directs the Whig attack at the Battle of Norton St Philip. (From multiple collections)

Cavalry

The Whig horse appears to have been formed into squadrons of three independent troops. The first troop raised was Major Manley's, then Captain Turner's and then Captain Hewling's. At Sedgemoor, Wade put the strength of the Horse at 600, or a dozen troops. However, one troop had been dispatched to seize Keynsham bridge and Hewling's and Cary's had been sent to capture guns from Dunster Castle. This left four squadrons at the battle. The following cavalry officers are known to have served in the Whig Army:

- Major John Manley (left Army for London)
- Captain Adlam (at Sedgemoor)
- Captain Alexander (at Sedgemoor)
- Captain Brand (killed at Keynsham)
- Captain Cary (at Dunster)
- Captain Dore (from Hampshire, at Sedgemoor?)
- Captain Chaddock (killed at Norton St Philip)
- Captain William Savage (Lord Grey's Troop, at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Benjamin Hewling (at Dunster)

•Captain John Hucker (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain John Jones (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Larke (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Nelthorpe (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Norton (from Dorset, at Sedgemoor?)

•Colonel John Spekes (left at Frome)

•Captain Thompson (Quartermaster General, at Sedgemoor)

•Captain John Tillier (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Tracy (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Reginald Tucker (at Sedgemoor)

•Captain Turner (at Sedgemoor)

Although little is known of the actual structure of the Whig horse, this does not mean there was no organisation. Using the French chevaux-leger model, each troop was probably an independent formation of between 40 and 60 troopers, structured in the French manner. On the battlefield two or three troops were formed into a squadron under the command of the senior captain or major. Although these larger units were ad hoc, it is likely that a squadron structure started to exist early in the campaign. The quality of these troops varied from well-armed and disciplined soldiers to others being described as ‘ragged’. There are four types of Whig cavalry: lifeguard, regular, volunteer and irregular.

Lifeguards

When the Duke of Monmouth was proclaimed King James II at Taunton, one troop of Lifeguards was raised. Only one troop was created, numbering 50 men and they would stay with King Monmouth throughout the campaign.

Regular Cavalry

These were the first troops of cavalry to be formed at Lyme, Therefore, they are in purple uniforms and were issued with the best weapons and equipment. There were possibly two or three troops of regular horse.

Volunteer Cavalry

The volunteer troops were raised once the army left Lyme and would be armed with pistols and swords. Although, some may have had carbines or musketoons, these would be personal weapons of the single-barrelled type from the secret armouries. As the armour was left in Lyme very few of these men had back and breastplates. There were possibly up to 15 troops of volunteer horse.

Irregular Cavalry

These are the raw companies of horse that joined the army and were described by Wade as ‘a company of ragged horse’. These should be considered poorly equipped and organised, under their landlord’s captainship or colonelship. They will have good or poor horses but are unlikely to be armed with more than one pistol and an old sword. Each troop numbered up to 50 riders, but this could vary dramatically. There were possibly up to six or seven troops of irregular horse.

The Infantry

Monmouth’s army contained five battalions of infantry, each containing five companies with 100 soldiers. The actual size and structure of Monmouth’s infantry varies as the campaign progresses and could be split into four phases. The first is the landing, the next is from Bridport to the remodelling at Taunton, then Taunton to Norton St Philip and finally the battle of Sedgemoor. The soldiers fell into three qualities, regulars or well-armed, volunteers with a mixture of equipment and poorly-armed irregulars. In addition to these men, there were five companies of scythe men and the Lyme company.

Duke of Monmouth’s Red Regiment of Foot

The Red Regiment was the first unit to be formed and with the Duke of Monmouth as its colonel, could be considered as his guards. Colonel Samuel Venner initially commanded the regiment, but after the Battle of Bridport effective command of the regiment fell to Major Nathanial Wade. As Wade wrote a detailed account of the campaign, we know more about this regiment than other Whig units. It is also probable that this regiment was better equipped and issued with purple coats. Outwardly, the Red Regiment was a regular battalion of foot. The known regimental officers were:

- Major Nathanial Wade (Whig Regular Foot)

- Captain Richard Goodenough (Whig Regular Foot)

The Red Regiment formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

- Captain Joseph Tily or Tyley * (Whig Regular Foot)

- Captain Thompson ** (Whig Regular Foot)

- Captain James Hayes (Whig Regular Foot)

•Captain Vincent (Whig Regular Foot)

•Captain Christopher Battiscombe (Whig Regular Foot)

•Captain Richard Slape (Whig Scythe Foot)

* Became a cavalry captain

** Transferred to Bovett’s Regiment

This was the largest Whig regiment and constantly numbered around 800 soldiers. It is therefore possible that it had double-sized companies and with a limited pool of officers and NCOs, was the most obvious way of accommodating the new recruits. Therefore, the battalion should contain five regular foot companies and one scythe foot company.

Colonel Foulke’s White Regiment of Foot

This was the second regiment to be formed at Lyme and had five companies. However, by Sedgemoor, the battalion only had 400 soldiers and was the smallest unit in the army. Other than Foulkes, the only other known officers were Captain Francis Goodenough and Ensign Askew, both men fighting at Bridport. Goodenough’s men would have been a regular company, while the rest would have been volunteer companies. At Taunton, it is possible that an extra scythe company was added to the regiment. At Norton St Philip, the men are described as having green branches in their hats.

Colonel Holmes’ Green Regiment of Foot

This was the third regiment of foot to be raised at Lyme and saw heavy action at Norton St Philip. By Sedgemoor, the regiment had 600 soldiers, probably in five volunteer companies. The known regimental officers are:

The Green Regiment formed into Battalia (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

- Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Holmes (Whig Volunteer Foot)
- Major Robert Parson (Whig Volunteer Foot)
- Captain Patchell (Whig Volunteer Foot)
- Captain Holmes (Whig Volunteer Foot)
- Captain John Marders (Whig Volunteer Foot)
- Captain Chaddock (Whig Scythe Foot?)

When reorganised at Taunton, an extra scythe company may have been added to the battalion.

Lieutenant Colonel Matthews' Yellow Regiment of Foot

This regiment was the last regiment to be raised at Lyme and before Colonel Matthews arrived from London it was under the command of Major Fox. At Sedgemoor the battalion had 500 soldiers, possibly in five volunteer companies. The known officers are:

- Lieutenant Colonel Edward Matthews (Whig Volunteer Foot)

- Major James Fox (Whig Volunteer Foot)

- Captain Robert Parrot (Whig Volunteer Foot)

At Taunton, an extra scythe company may have been added to the battalion.

The Yellow Regiment formed into Battalia 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Colonel Richard Bovett’s Taunton Blue Regiment of Foot

This regiment was raised purely from the men living in or near to Taunton. It is very likely, that the original plan was for Bovett to form the regiment upon the arrival of Colonel Venner on 11 June. However, the presence of Luttrell’s and then Stawell’s Militia Regiments stopped all thought of an uprising. As a result, large numbers of Taunton men travelled to Lyme to enlist rather than wait in the town with Bovett. The following officers from the regiment are known:

•Lieutenant Colonel Richard Bovett (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain Philip Bovett (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain Robert Bruce (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain Zachary Wyatt (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain Josias Whettcombe (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain John Herring (Whig Volunteer Foot)

•Captain William Thompson (Whig Scythe Foot)

The regiment was finally raised on 20 June and this resulted in the army being reorganised as men were transferred from the other Whig units into Bovett's. By Sedgemoor, the battalion numbered 600 men in five volunteer companies and one scythe company.

Artillery & Baggage

The Light Artillery Brigade

The Whigs unloaded their light artillery brigade on the first night of the campaign which comprised of just four light field pieces. These were small falcons or battalion guns, probably no heavier than 3-pounders, quite possibly lighter, and each would have both a travelling and a field carriage. On the first few days after landing, these pieces were deployed covering the roads into the town of Lyme. Each piece had a pointing officer to oversee its loading and aiming. Four gunners accompanied this officer plus eight soldiers from the artillery guard company acting as labourers. While four of the soldiers worked with the crew, the rest guarded the caissons or moved ammunition between the train and the guns.

A light artillery brigade formed into a battery c.1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

When on the march, the leading carriage would contain tools to clear the road. After this came the four light field pieces, each with a small chest containing 30 made up cartridges plus ball and case shot. The caissons following would be carrying additional powder and ammunition, plus barrels of flints, bags of match and musket shot. Next came a spare carriage with the A-frame and two pairs of arms for lifting the barrels off the wagons. Two carts would have followed this each loaded with 12 hundredweight of clean powder. Then came the carts for the infantry battalions each with three tons of powder, three barrels of lead balls, two bags of match and one barrel with musket flints. The last wagon would contain the soldiers’ personal equipment.

In addition to the light artillery, a separate artillery train would march in the centre of the army. However, with a shortage of wagons at Lyme, the Whigs left behind around 5,000 cuirasses, preferring to transport the muskets, pikes, powder, ammunition and the other military essentials purchased in Holland. This train fell under the command of the commissionaire. There would have been five or six wagons for each battalion plus several wagons full of spare muskets and pikes. One thing missing from Monmouth’s artillery train was tents.

Independent Artillery Company

It was the military norm for the artillery to be accompanied by a special guard or battalion of infantry. It is very likely that the Lyme independent company acted in this role. These soldiers guarded the artillery train, the light artillery and the powder, while others worked as labourers for each light field piece. The Lyme company was formed in the days after the landings and remained independent from the infantry battalions. There are two captains listed in the company and this indicates that they were sub-divided into two divisions under Colonel Brandt’s direction.

The Lyme or Independent Artillery Company 1685.

Baggage Guard

By the third week in the campaign, Monmouth had more men than he had weapons and as a result, these recruits were sent to the baggage train. Here they acted as guards, forming irregular companies. Some of these men later joined one of the volunteer companies being issued with equipment. However, the baggage guard also included the old and infirm relatives of soldiers in the army. At Sedgemoor, Monmouth sent the baggage on to Bristol rather than onto the battlefield.

Civilian Uprisings

Whig Civilian Mobs

As whispers of the planned invasion spread across the west of England, groups of Whigs started to gather in towns a day or two away from Lyme. As the size of these mobs grew, tensions rose in places like Taunton, forcing the local government officials to call out the militia. Once the news that Monmouth had captured Lyme reached them, they set off to join the Protestant duke. In Taunton before the landing, possibly as many as 1,000 men had assembled. However, the biggest gathering was in Frome were over 2,000 men congregated and waited for King Monmouth. This civilian mob had men armed with muskets, pistols, pikes, pitchforks and scythes. The mobs were not purely on foot, as mounted men also joined these bands, adding to the gathering's disorder. Unfortunately, the mob described at Frome has become the source of the ragged pitchfork army myth that is so popular in some histories.

Later in the campaign, as Monmouth advanced through the countryside, civilian mobs continued to join the army. This was fuelled by the distribution of the Declaration of War by Captain Kidd, who was riding ahead of the army. These mobs would start gathering two or three days ahead of the army's arrival, or a day on either side of the line of march. When these civilian mobs reached the army, they were quickly recruited into Monmouth's battalions and squadrons.

When on the march, these mobs would congregate with the baggage, to be recruited into the army that evening.

If a Whig personality joins the mob, such as Colonel Bovett in Taunton or Captain Kidd at Warminster, they become irregular companies or troops. Otherwise, they would remain as disorganised mobs without officers, NCOs or other leaders. If a civilian mob gathers but can’t reach the army, then they will walk to the nearest big town and wait for a personality or the army to arrive. While congregating, each mob numbers around 100 men, but there is no coordination between mobs, even in a large gathering. Civilian mobs may fight if attacked or they needed to pass through a town occupied by a lone militia company but not two. They will always break if assaulted by cavalry.

At the height of the campaign, up to four civilian mobs could join the army each day. However, once the army’s supply of weapons has been used up, those on foot became irregular companies and served as baggage guards.

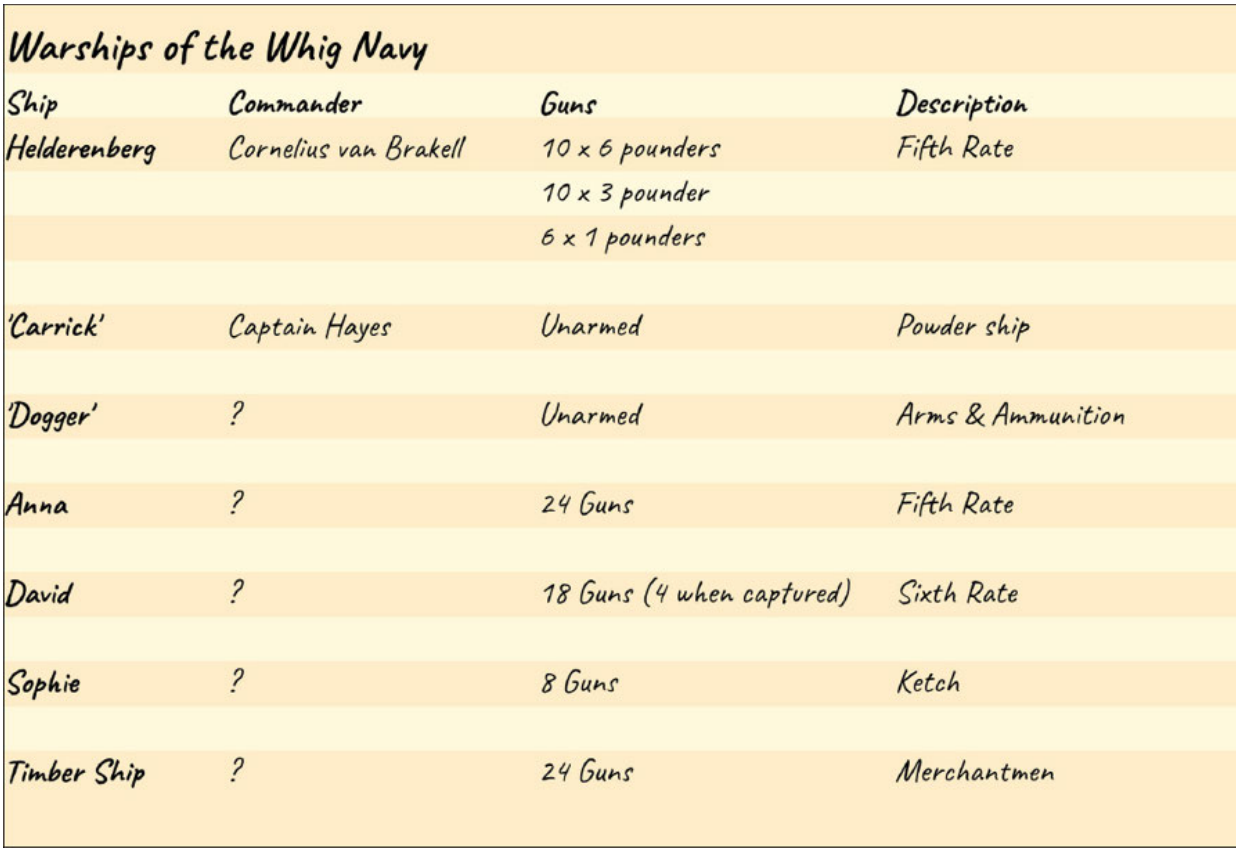
Clubmen Bands

In the summer of 1685, the Somerset Clubmen were called out to defend the West Country against a feared French invasion. Each community raised a small band of between 50 and 100 men. They were of a higher quality than a civilian mob and had a loose command structure. It is this that gave them more staying power and the ability to fight.

Once raised, the Clubmen would defend their local communities and could give the militia a hard fight. However, they would not have fared well against regulars or cavalry. They would act like guerrillas, killing stragglers and anyone caught stealing livestock. These bands could merge into bigger bodies, but no more than four bands could merge, under a white colour. Likewise, they would disappear into the countryside as fast as they came together.

In theory, the Clubmen were neutral, but did sympathise with the Whig cause and opened talks with Monmouth. The Duke offered the Clubmen leaders commissions in his army and a group did join Monmouth near Glastonbury. However, rather than fighting, they acted as guides.

Whig Navy



Warships of the Whig Navy

Ship	Commander	Guns	Description
Helderenberg	Cornelius van Brakell	10 x 6 pounders	Fifth Rate
		10 x 3 pounder	
		6 x 1 pounders	
'Carrick'	Captain Hayes	Unarmed	Powder ship
'Dogger'	?	Unarmed	Arms & Ammunition
Anna	?	24 Guns	Fifth Rate
David	?	18 Guns (4 when captured)	Sixth Rate
Sophie	?	8 Guns	Ketch
Timber Ship	?	24 Guns	Merchantmen

One King Campaign

May 1685 - Invasion

2 May 1685, Argyll Sails

The Scottish Whigs fleet presented passports to the Dutch officials and then crossed the Vlie, into the North Sea. The Whig fleet heading to Scotland contained three ships:

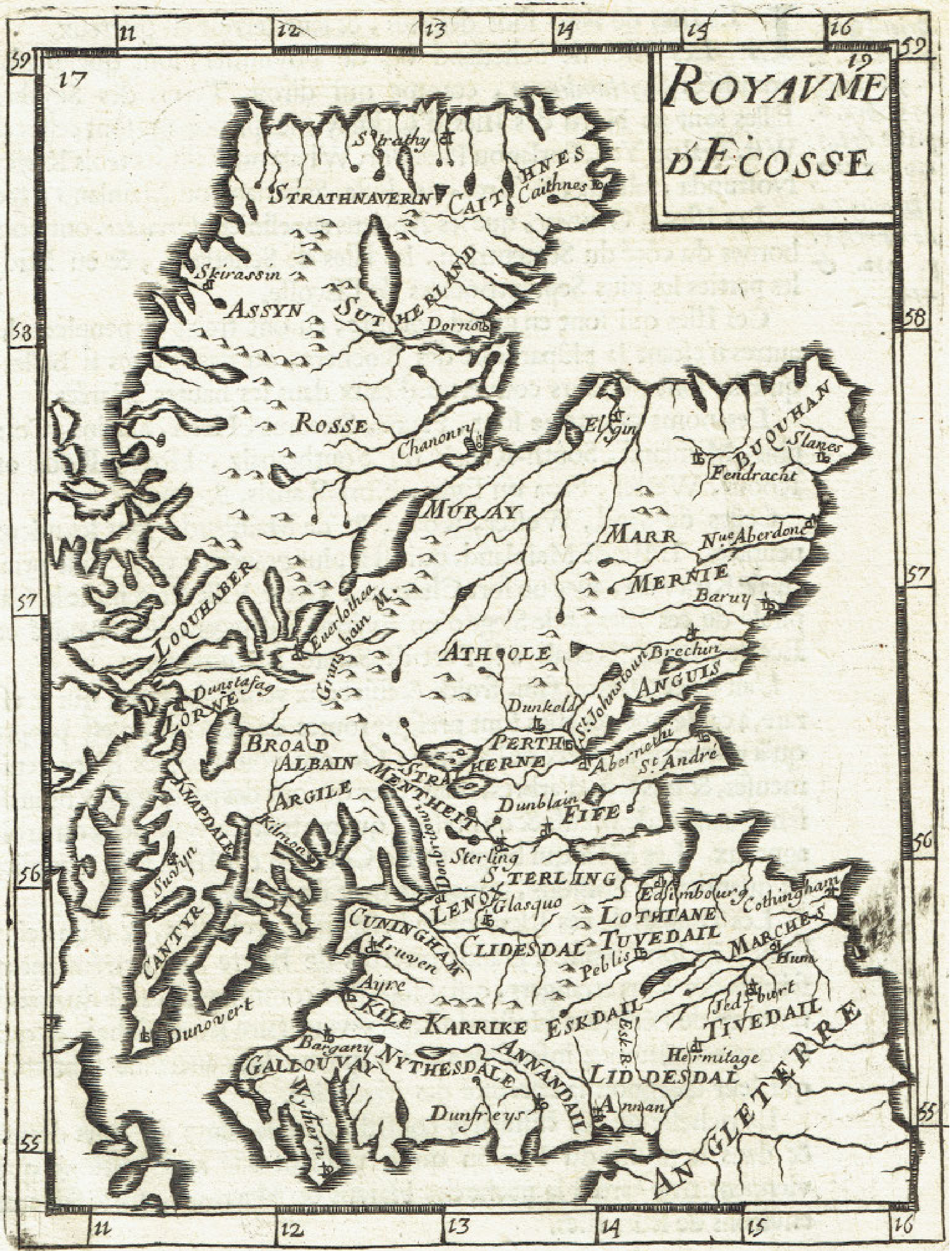
•Sophie , 8-gun transport

•David , 16-gun sixth rate frigate

•Anna , 24-gun fifth rate frigate

Hours later HMS Saudadoes arrived in Amsterdam, causing a ripple of fear in the English Whig camp. Under the Duke of Monmouth’s instructions, Lord Grey had only hired three small transport ships and none were capable of any serious action, especially taking on a sixth-rate frigate. As a result a small 26-gun frigate called the Helderenberg was purchased. However, the ship needed a refit and new armament, adding another two weeks to the Whig departure date.

Did Captain Trevanion avoid combat and let the Whigs sail? What if the Saudadoes had engaged the Whig fleet and sunk one of the ships? Test to see if this happens. This outcome could have ended the campaign before it started and James, Duke of York would become the true King.


ROYAUME D'ECOSSE
STRATHNAVERN
S. Strathy
CAITHNES
Caithnes
Skirassin
ASSYN
SUTHERLAND
Dornok
ROSSE
Chanonry
Elgin
BUQUHAN
Slanes
Fendracht
MURAY
MARR
Nue Aberdone
MERNIE
Baruy
LOQUHABER
Euerlothea
Grans bain M.
ATHOLE
Brechun
St Johnstoun
ANGUIS
Dunstafag
LORNE
Dunkold
PERTH
BROAD ALBAIN
STRATHERNE
Abernethi
St Andre
KNAPDALE
ARGILE
MENTHEIT
Dunblain
FIFE
Kilmony
Sudyn
Dunbritoun
Sterling
STERLING
Edimbourg
Cothingham
LENOX
Glasquo
LOTHIANE
CUNINGHAM
CANTYR
Iruven
CLIDESDAL
TUYEDAIL
MARCHES
Peblis
Hum
Ayre
Jedburt
KILE
KARRIKE
ESKDAIL
Esk R.
TIVEDAIL
Dunovert
Bargany
NYTHESDALE
ANNANDAIL
Hermitage
GALLOUVAY
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3 May 1685, Whitehall

News of the Whig departure for Scotland reached Whitehall and all the intelligence indicated that Monmouth had sailed with Argyll. The reports indicated that they were sailing to either the north of England or Scotland, while a second fleet, under Lord Grey was reportedly sailing to Ireland. The reaction was to send a warning to Edinburgh by fast dispatch. This was followed on 4 May by the small 8-gun HMY Charlotte being ordered to sail to the Clyde.

6 May 1685, Orkney

After a fast crossing, Argyll's fleet arrived off the Scottish coast on 5 May. The following day they reached the Orkneys and dropped anchor near the settlement of Cairston. That evening two men were sent ashore to the town of Kirkwall. They were to send letters to Argyll's supporters and gather intelligence on the Government's actions. Unfortunately, the Bishop of Orkney was one of the King's allies and recognising the two strangers as Whigs, arrested the pair. The following morning, with the agents missing, Argyll sent out search parties and discovered that they had been imprisoned. Enraged, Argyll ordered an attack on Kirkwall, but was talked out of the move by his army council.

What if the council of war had taken a more aggressive stance? Argyll would then have sent two companies of veteran foot to fight *their way into the town. They would have faced a militia company of 50 men plus possibly up to 100 townsfolk. If victorious, the outcome for the Whigs would be an increase in recruits. Alternatively, the opposite result would be a radical decline in men joining the army.*

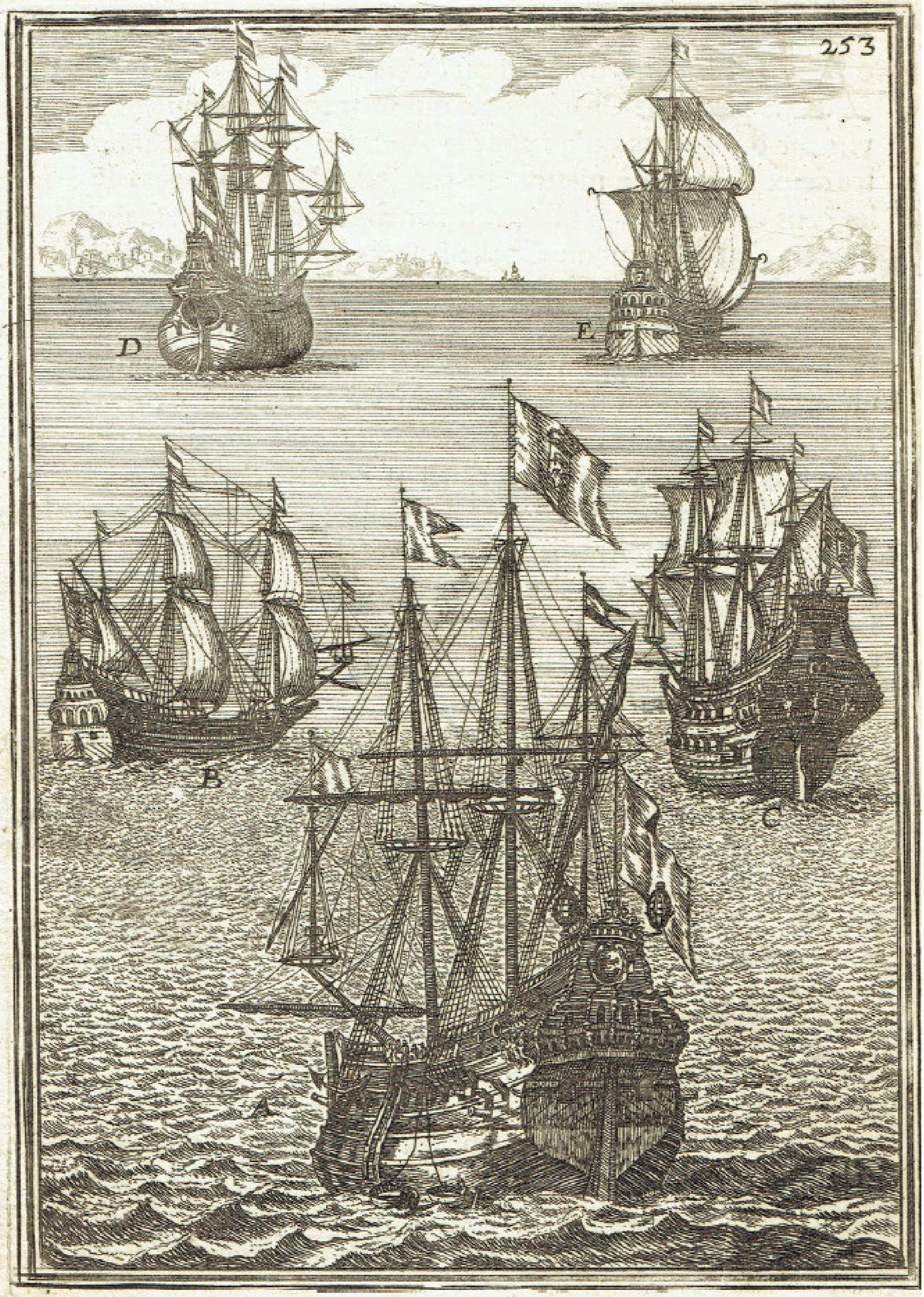
Instead, Argyll took a few hostages from a nearby settlement and sent an ultimatum to Kirkwall. If the prisoners were not returned by midday on 8 May, then the hostages would be killed. As the clocks struck noon on 8 May, the prisoners had not appeared and Argyll ordered the fleet to sail with the hostages. As they did, a small merchant ship arrived in the anchorage which the Whigs captured. Argyll departed the Orkneys, leaving the two Whig agents to their fate. Meanwhile a warning was sent to Edinburgh.

10 May 1685 – Whitehall

With news of the Whig fleet and its size now in Whitehall, a flurry of orders was issued. HMS Mermaid was to sail to the River Clyde via the east coast route. The governors of Carlisle and Berwick were ordered to increase the strengths of their independent companies of foot. Captain Strother's troop of dragoons was ordered to Carlisle and Captain Musgrave's infantry company started its long march from the Tower of London to Berwick. Orders were sent to Dublin for the Irish army to mobilise. Finally, on 12 May HMS Falcon was ordered to the River Clyde via the western route. The race was on to reinforce Scotland.

13 May 1685 – Castle Duart

The Whig fleet continued sailing west, reaching the Isle of Mull on 10 May and anchored off the town of Tobermory. The Whigs started searching the wreck of a Spanish galleon and recruited 300 Highlanders. On 13 May the fleet sailed south towards the mainland and passed under the guns of Castle Duart.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Smaller Frigates and Sloops c.1683.

What if the garrison of Castle Duart opened fire, sinking or damaging one of the ships? This outcome would have delayed the Whig's advance and possibly even forced them to abandon their adventure in Scotland.

15 May 1685 – The Fiery Cross

On 14 May 1685, the Whig fleet reaches the Western coast of Argyllshire and sails down to Dunstaffnage Castle. The following morning, Argyll sends his son Charles ashore with a small party of retainers to light the fiery cross, this being the signal for the Clan Campbell to be called to arms. To support this act, they publish the Declaration of War and send this with messages to all the key Campbell lairds. Whilst talking to some local men, Charles Campbell learns that a small body of Highland Watch are raiding the Isle of Islay. On this news, Argyll orders his fleet to sail south in the hope of capturing the enemy commander, Laird Ballechan and his men. With the fiery cross ablaze, Charles Campbell starts marching south to the town of Tarbert recruiting Highland companies as he goes.

What if the fiery cross spluttered and went out? Test for the outcome, as there could have been even poorer recruitment in the Highlands.

What if Lochnell had joined the Whigs? The outcome would be that his Campbell tenants and retainers would join Argyll at Glendaruel rather than joining Atholl at Inveraray.

17 May 1685 – The Isle of Islay

By now Whitehall had received intelligence that Monmouth was not with the fleet heading north. Furthermore, they had reports that the target of the Scottish invasion was Stirling, while Monmouth planned to attack Bristol. All this intelligence was quickly forwarded to Edinburgh. The Earl of Dumbarton, who was to become commander-in-chief in Scotland, also headed north.

On the evening of 17 May, Argyll's fleet arrived off the Isle of Islay and he quickly dispatched his veterans to attack the Government forces on the island. These were reported to be over 400 strong, but the Whigs were bristling with weapons and looking for a fight. The small party rapidly advanced across the country to the settlement of Kilmolrow (modern Bridgend), only to find that the Government forces had left just hours earlier.

What if the winds had been kinder to Argyll and he had arrived off the Isle of Islay six hours earlier? The outcome would be two companies of Whig veteran foot storming across the island and encountering two companies of Highland Watch under Ballechan. If the Whigs had won, then Inveraray would be open.

However, Ballechan's soldiers had taken the best supplies from the island and made it clear to the inhabitants that there was no supporting Argyll without reprisals. As a result, the Whigs only recruited one company of Islay men before they sailed to Campbeltown the following day. While his father chased the

Government forces off Islay, the young Campbell reached Castle Carnasserie where he was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck with his retainers and several locally recruited Highlander companies.

19 May 1685 – Whitehall

The Earl of Argyll’s fleet sails south to the Isle of Islay 1685. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

The Government in Whitehall issued arrest warrants for all known Whigs across the country. This forced the leadership in London and Chester to go into hiding, stifling all talk of any uprisings to support the invasion and made communications difficult with Monmouth.

What if Danvers or Macclesfield had gone underground rather than into hiding? The outcome would be that Whig mobs could start gathering once news of Monmouth's landing reached the towns, 13 June for London, or 15 June for Chester. If the leaders go underground, start recruiting mobs with an outcome test each day.

20 May 1685 – Campbeltown

Argyll arrives at Campbeltown and reads the Declaration of War to the Lowland mobs that had gathered. In Inveraray, Ballechan requested reinforcements from Lord Breadalbane at Kilchurn Castle and the Marquis of Atholl.

21 May 1685 – Moving to Tarbert

In Holland, after two weeks of delays, the Whig fleet of four ships was ready to start loading arms and equipment. The Whigs exploit a loophole in the new arms embargo laws that stop the loading of arms from the quayside onto ships. They do this by moving the transports out to sea and then ferrying the supplies out to them via smaller inshore vessels. However, this takes up more time due to the harsh weather. In Scotland, Argyll moves his fleet north to Tarbert to join his son and his cousin the Laird Auchinbreck.

22 May 1685 – Dumbarton takes command

The Marquis of Atholl leaves Edinburgh for Inveraray. He will go via his home, Blair Atholl Castle, to gather up an army of militia, Highland Watch and regulars. The Earl of Dumbarton becomes commander-in-chief and King James II asks for the loan of Mackay's Scots Brigade from Holland.

25 May 1685 – Carrick Castle

A small party of Government troops under Captain Hamilton attacks and damages Carrick Castle, one of Argyll's homes. While a different Captain Hamilton, in HMS Kingfisher was sailing past Land's End on his way to Scotland.

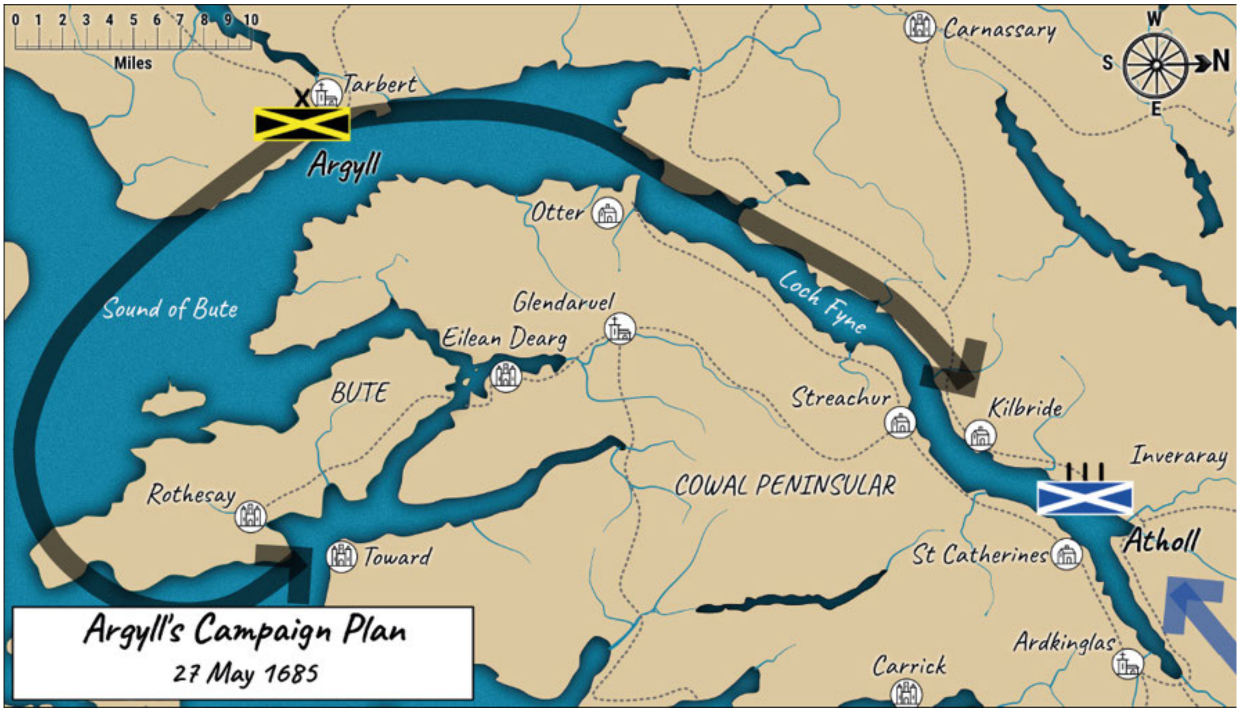
26 May 1685 – The Hague

The Duke of Monmouth was seen at the Hague and stayed with the Prince of Orange. While patrolling the Clyde estuary, Argyll's fleet seized a 24-gun merchant ship carrying timber to Ireland.

27 May 1685 – Organising Argyll's Army

In Tarbert, Argyll organised his army into three regiments of foot. Each had five companies of 100 soldiers. The one regiment of horse had three troops of 50 troopers each. With this new army, Argyll presents his plan to attack Inveraray to the Army Council. However, Cochrane and his faction argue for an attack of Renfrewshire, while the Kirk proclaim that Argyll is putting his interests above those of Scotland. Argyll compromises and agrees to move to the Isle of Bute.

If Ballechan had been defeated on Islay, then Argyll might have been able to persuade the army council to agree an advance on Inveraray. This outcome would have seen the Scots Whigs in a strong location being attacked by Atholl, plus more new recruits would join the army.


0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Tarbert
Argyll
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Sound of Bute
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Glendaruel
Eilean Dearg
BUTE
Streachur
Kilbride
Inveraray
COWAL PENINSULAR
Rothesay
Toward
Atholl
St Catherines
Argyll's Campaign Plan
27 May 1685
Ardkinglas
Carrick

28 May 1685 – The North Sea

The Whig fleet, now containing only three ships, crossed the Vlie into the North Sea. Near Ilminster, Government agents intercepted a letter. This contained details of Monmouth's invasion plan. Local officials now order the Somerset, Dorset and Devonshire militias to muster.

What if this letter had not been intercepted? The outcome would have been that the militia would not have been on the streets of Taunton or Bridport. The impact would have been massive, not only would over 1,000 well-armed Whigs have marched south from Taunton, but more recruits would have arrived in Lyme. This would have enabled the Whigs to march towards London on 14 June 1685. (Turn to the fictional battle of Tidpit Ford).

29 May 1685 – Monmouth joins the Fleet

As the Whig fleet sails down the Dutch coast, Monmouth boards the Helderenberg. In London all wagons heading north start to be searched.

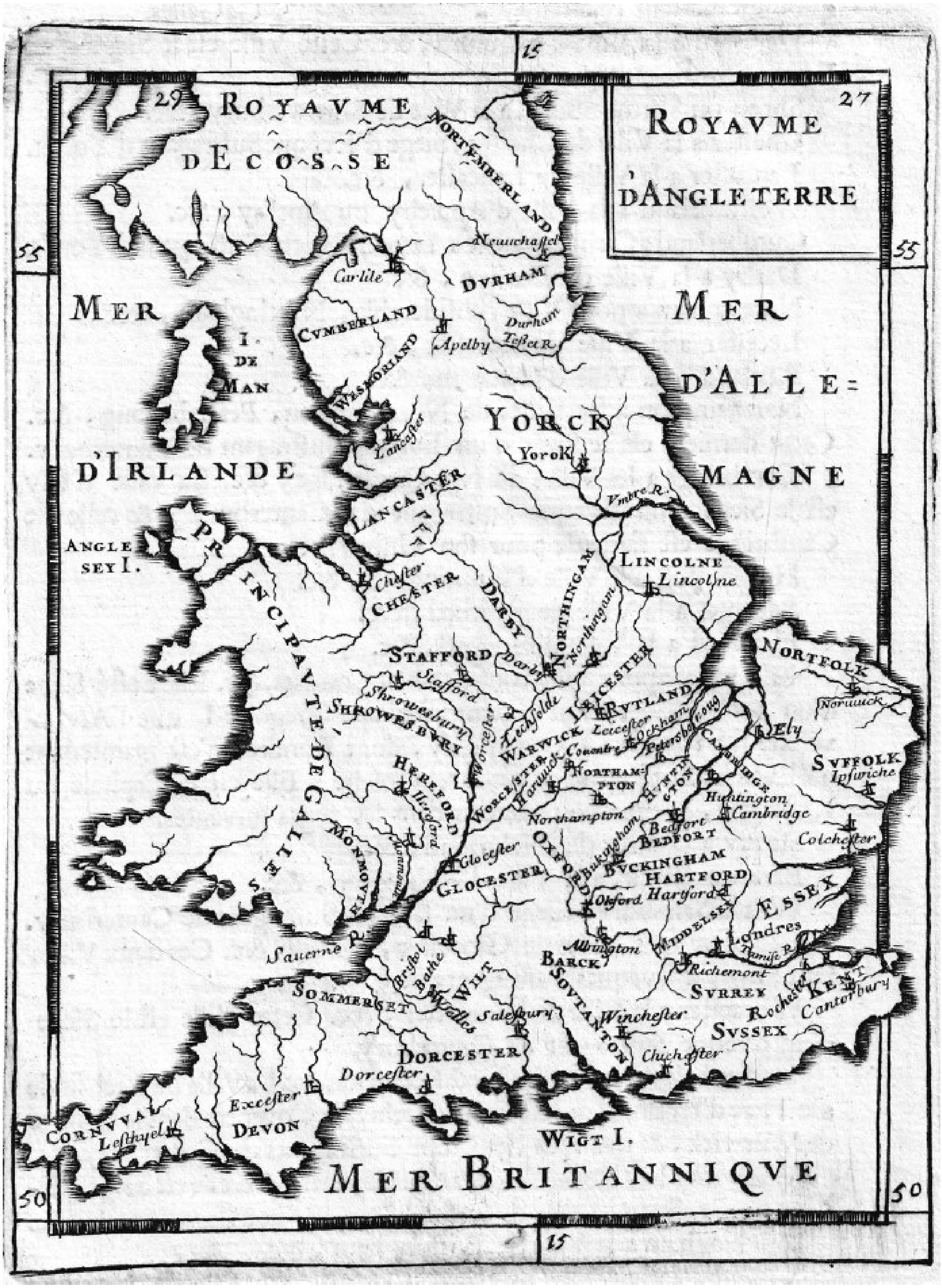
Meanwhile, Argyll’s fleet is off Largs seizing supplies and HMY Charlotte slips into the River Clyde and arrives in Greenock. That night, Argyll lands on the Isle of Bute and learns of the damage to Carrick Castle.

30 May 1685 – Atholl Arrives at Inveraray

After a long march, Atholl arrives at Inveraray with a force of around 2,000 soldiers. Over the next few days, more loyal Highlanders arrive, bringing the numbers up to around 4,000 men. Argyll starts moving his army from Tarbert to the Isle of Bute.

31 May 1685 – Monmouth Sails

After waiting for 60 more Whigs to join the fleet, at three o’clock in the morning, the 26-gun Helderenberg sailed west. The flagship was accompanied by two small transports ship. Just hours later HMS Centurion arrived in Amsterdam.


ROYAUME D'ANGLETERRE
ROYAUME D'ECOSSE
MER D'IRLANDE
MER D'ALLEMAGNE
MER BRITANNIQUE
I. DE MAN
ANGLESEY I.
PRINCIPAUTE DE GALLES
NORTUMBERLAND
Neuuchastel
DURHAM
Durham
Tesse R.
Carlile
CUMBERLAND
WESMORLAND
Apelby
YORCK
Yorck
Vmbre R.
Lancaster
LANCASTER
Chester
CHESTER
DARBY
NORTHINGAM
Northingam
LINCOLNE
Lincolne
NORTFOLK
Noruuich
STAFFORD
Stafford
Darby
Shrowesbury
SHROWESBURY
Worcester
Lechfelde
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
Ockham
Petersbourg
Ely
WARWICK
Leicester
Coventre
Warwick
WORCESTER
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGTON
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
Ipswiche
HEREFORD
Hereford
Huntington
Cambridge
Northampton
Bedfort
BEDFORT
Colchester
MONMOUTH
Monmouth
Glocester
GLOCESTER
OXFORD
Bukingham
BUCKINGHAM
HARTFORD
Hartford
Oxford
ESSEX
MIDDELSEX
Londres
Tamise R.
Sauerne R.
Bristol
Bathe
Allington
BARCK
Richemont
SOMMERSET
Welles
WILT
Salesbury
SOUTHAMTON
Winchester
SURREY
Rochester
KENT
Canterbury
SUSSEX
DORCESTER
Dorcester
Chichester
Excester
DEVON
CORNUUAL
Lesthyel
WIGT I.
15
29
27
55
55
50
50
15

Objective England c.1683.

Due to the large numbers of Whigs gathering in Taunton, Colonel Luttrell's regiment of militia went onto the streets. Off the Isle of Wright, HMS Tiger takes a Whig ship, the Fly, full of weapons heading west.

What if the Fly had escaped? These arms would have arrived in Bridgwater boosting the arming of Whigs in Taunton and Bridgwater and increasing the number of regular foot and horse companies in the army.

In Scotland Colonel Rumbold was still at Tarbert, and Argyll burns Rothesay Castle and moves his fleet to Toward Castle

1 June 1685 – Arrests in Taunton

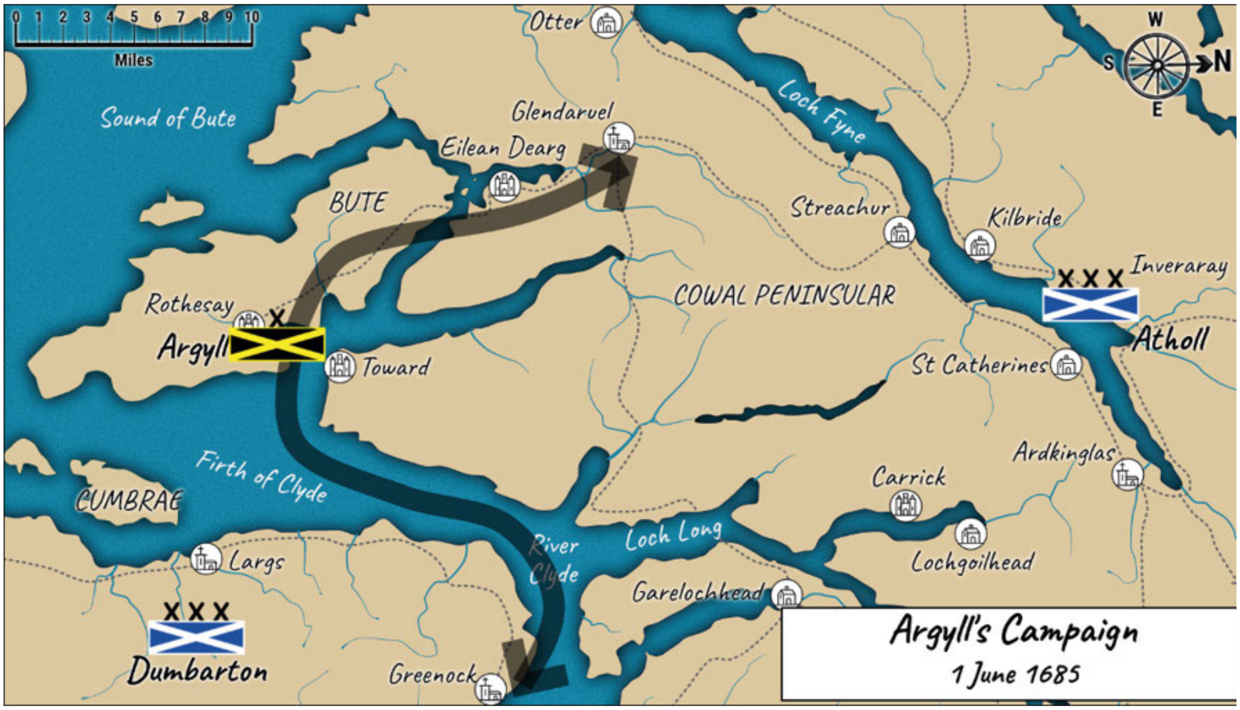
The Taunton Militia arrested all known Whig leaders, including Colonel Bovett, and imprison them in Taunton Castle.

What if Colonel Bovett had escaped arrest? Bovett secretly prepared for the news of Monmouth's landing and when Venner arrived, the old colonel led an uprising against Luttrell's militia?

1 June 1685 – Argyll Moves

Argyll's son Charles Campbell arrived on the Cowal Peninsular and set up a base at Glendaruel. Sir John Cochrane with a small force of infantry, sail up the Clyde in the David and Sophie. Dumbarton moves his army to Largs, while troops of militia horse patrol the coastal towns along the Clyde.

Argyll moved his army to the Isle of Bute and started to probe the Government defences. Meanwhile, his opponents secured their positions in Ayrshire and around Inveraray.

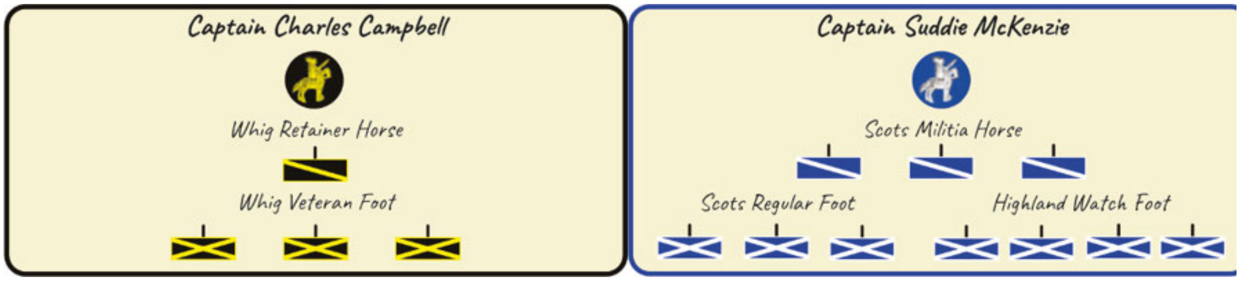

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Otter
Sound of Bute
Glendaruel
Eilean Dearg
BUTE
Loch Fyne
Streachur
Kilbride
Inveraray
X X X
Atholl
Rothesay
X
Argyll
Toward
COWAL PENINSULAR
St Catherines
Ardkinglas
Carrick
Firth of Clyde
CUMBRAE
Largs
River Clyde
Loch Long
Lochgoilhead
Garelochhead
X X X
Dumbarton
Greenock
W
S
N
E
Argyll's Campaign
1 June 1685

2 June 1685 – Battle of Glendaruel

Objectives

The Whigs are gathering provisions, recruits and intelligence, while the Government forces are looking to eject the Whigs from the area. To win, the Whigs must not lose their commander or over a third of their forces and stay on the battlefield for an hour or as directed by an outcome card.

For the Government player to win they must kill or capture more than a third of the Whigs. If the Whigs win, then draw an outcome card for the number of new Highlanders that join when the commander returns. Neither side can be resupplied.


Captain Charles Campbell
Whig Retainer Horse
Whig Veteran Foot
Captain Suddie McKenzie
Scots Militia Horse
Scots Regular Foot
Highland Watch Foot

Government Deployment

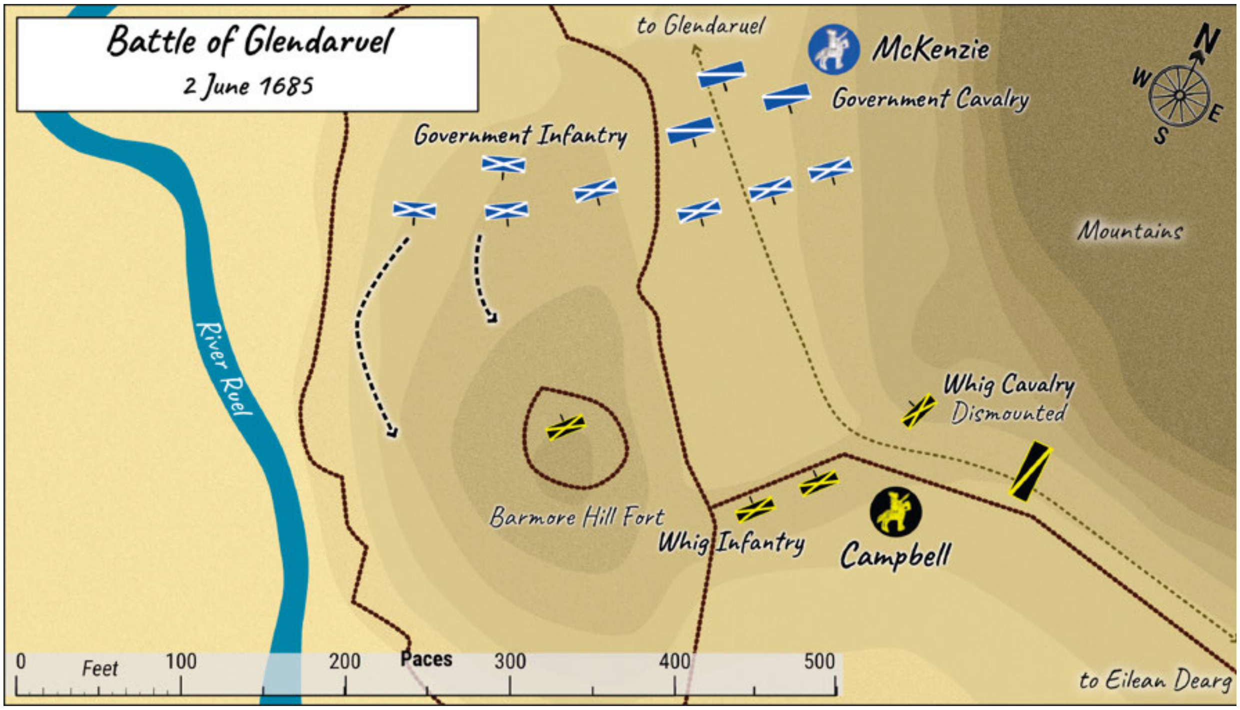
On 1 June, Atholl received news that Whig soldiers were at Glendaruel and ordered Captain McKenzie to investigate and chase off the enemy. That evening, McKenzie with 250 infantry and a troop of 50 horse was ferried across to Strachur. They marched south the following morning. By late afternoon the Government soldiers were within sight of Glendaruel. The Government army is deployed with a section of Scots militia horse and a company of Highland Watch foot in the vanguard and a section Scots militia horse as the rearguard.

Whig Deployment

On 31 May, Charles Campbell landed on the Cowal Peninsular with a reconnaissance party containing 100 infantry and 20 troopers. Leaving the boats at the Castle of Eilean Dearg, they moved north to the small village of Glendaruel to establish a camp. Over the next day, Campbell sent out scouts to gather provisions and enlist recruits. The Whigs start in positions behind cover and all horse are dismounted.

The Battle

Charles Campbell, possibly due to inexperience, learned late that a large Government force was advancing down the valley. The Whigs quickly gathered up their equipment and pulled back towards Eilean Dearg. However, with McKenzie's men hard on their heels, Campbell took up a defensive position next to an old hill fort. With his right flank resting on the craggy hillside and the left on the hill fort, his men opened fire on their pursuers.


Battle of Glendaruel
2 June 1685
to Glendaruel
McKenzie
Government Cavalry
N
W
E
S
Government Infantry
Mountains
River Ruel
Whig Cavalry
Dismounted
Barmore Hill Fort
Whig Infantry
Campbell
0
Feet
100
200
Paces
300
400
500
to Eilean Dearg

As McKenzie's men came under fire, the captain probably deployed the company of regulars on the left and the Highland Watch company on the right, leaving the troop of horse in reserve. With a firefight ranging across the narrow front, he ordered some of his Highlanders to attack and seize the hill fort. With his left flank exposed and ammunition running out, Campbell ordered his infantry to withdraw to Eilean Dearg, leaving his dismounted cavalry to act as the rearguard.

However, the experienced McKenzie saw the reduction in enemy fire and ordered his cavalry forwards. The Whig troopers now remounted and galloped after the infantry, closely followed by the Government cavalry. On reaching the castle of Eilean Dearg, Charles put some of his men onto the island, while the rest of the soldiers reached the safety of their boats. Unfortunately, the rearguard was less fortunate and lost several men before making their escape.

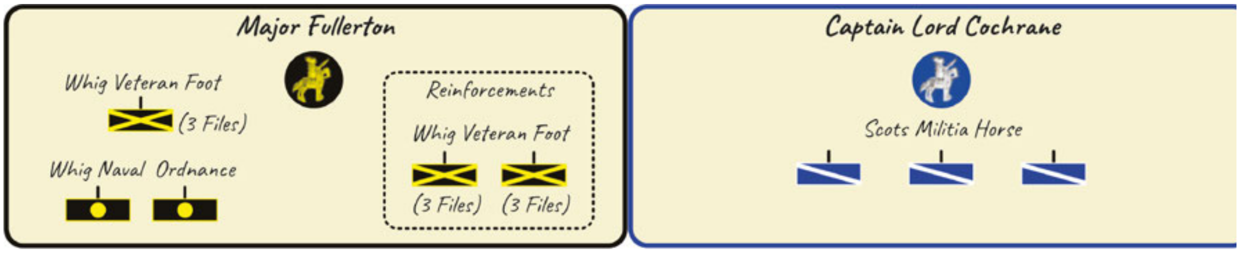
Aftermath

The following day, McKenzie retired to Inveraray, and while at Castle Toward, Charles briefed his father on the land and Castle. Based on this intelligence, Argyll planned to establish his base of operations on the Cowal Peninsular, subject to the reports from the other reconnaissance party that was raiding Greenock.

3 June 1685 – Battle of Greenock

Objectives

The Lowland Whigs led by Sir John Cochrane sailed to Greenock to gather intelligence, provisions and recruits. However, as they prepared to land a troop of militia came into view. For the Whig player to win, the landing party under Major Fullerton must secure a beachhead. The Government patrol must slaughter the landing party before all the reinforcements arrive, forcing the Whigs to give up the attempted landing.

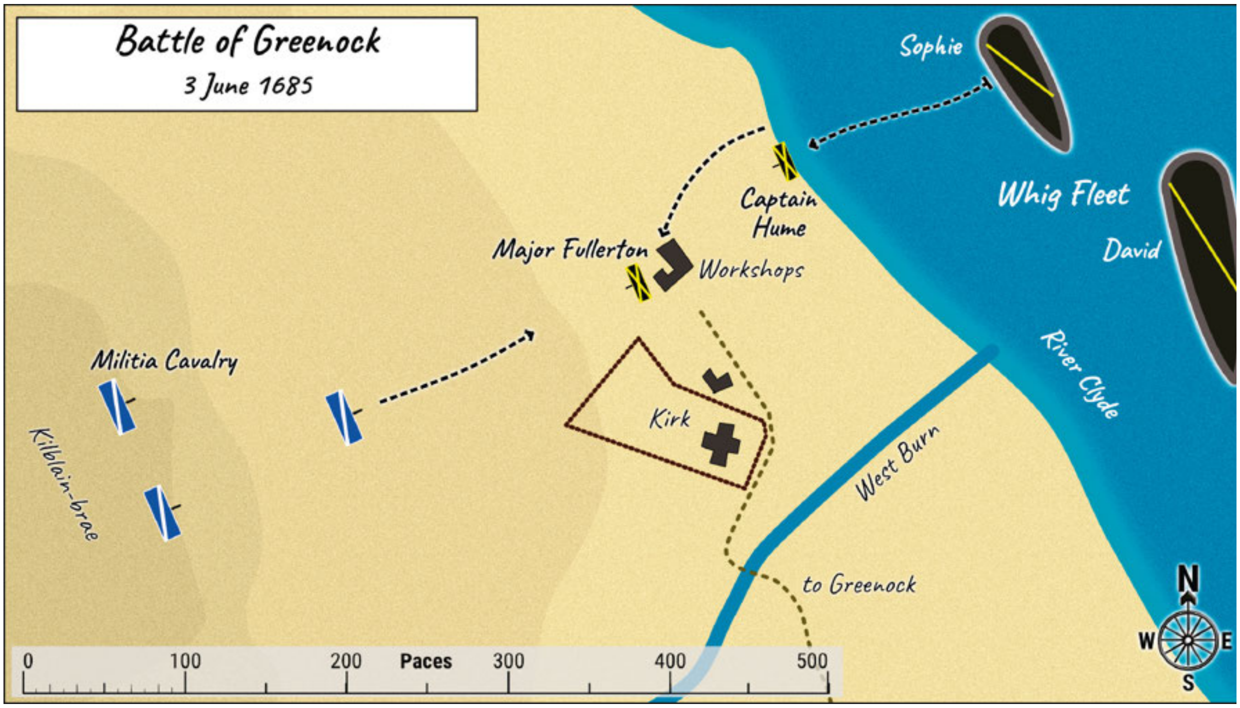

Major Fullerton
Whig Veteran Foot
(3 Files)
Whig Naval Ordnance
Reinforcements
Whig Veteran Foot
(3 Files)
(3 Files)
Captain Lord Cochrane
Scots Militia Horse

Government Deployment

Lord Cochrane, one of the Whig commander’s cousins, was leading the troop of Ayrshire militia on patrol when the two ships appeared. Suspicious of these unknown ships, he took his troop down to investigate. Sending his lieutenant’s squad forward, Lord Cochrane sat on top of the ridge above the Kirk with a strong reserve.

Whig Deployment

The small Whig fleet that sailed up the Clyde under the command of Sir John Cochrane, was composed of the Sophie and David. Onboard were three companies from Ayloffe’s and two companies from Lapness’s regiments. Cochrane aimed to secure Greenock, gather up provisions and establish a foothold on the Ayrshire coast. From here, the Whigs could strike south and rekindle the Covenanter cause, crushed at Bothwell bridge in 1679. Unfortunately, they only had three longboats and each of these could only take a dozen soldiers. As they came close enough for the soldiers to land, a troop of horse appeared on the hill line.


Battle of Greenock
3 June 1685
Sophie
Whig Fleet
David
Captain Hume
Major Fullerton
Workshops
Militia Cavalry
Kirk
Kilblain-brae
River Clyde
West Burn
to Greenock
0
100
200
Paces
300
400
500
N
W
E
S

The Landing

Sir John Cochrane ordered Lapness to take the first landing party ashore, but the colonel refused, stating that the enemy was too close. Major Fullerton then stepped forward and volunteered to lead the assault. Loading up two longboats with a dozen of his veterans, the major took his men ashore.

Seeing the longboats full of soldiers, Lord Cochrane’s lieutenant moved forwards, but as he did so the Sophie opened fire with her cannon. This forced this section of militia horseback up the ridge and the troopers watched as the Whigs took up positions on the shoreline. Then as the longboats departed, once more Lord Cochrane sent his lieutenant forward, this time under a flag of truce.

Fullerton quickly agreed to the talks, seeing them as an opportunity to bring more Whigs ashore, unmolested. Unfortunately, within moments of the negotiations starting, a pistol shot rang out. This was followed by carbine and musket shots as a firefight broke out. However, the Whigs had the better of the contest and the militia retired back up the slope.

In response, Lord Cochrane led the rest of the troop down the hillside, forcing Fullerton to pull his men back to a rope yard. The Sophie opened fire once more and this renewed bombardment stopped any further advance by the militia. As more and more soldiers landed, Lord Cochrane took his troop back toward Renfrew, leaving his cousin to seize the small town of Greenock. Here the Whigs found little in the way of food or recruits and after several fruitless hours, the Whigs returned to their ships and sailed back to the Isle of Bute. Just a mile up the coast under the walls of Dumbarton Castle, the captain of HMY Charlotte heard the cannon fire but thought better of taking on the Whig fleet.

Aftermath

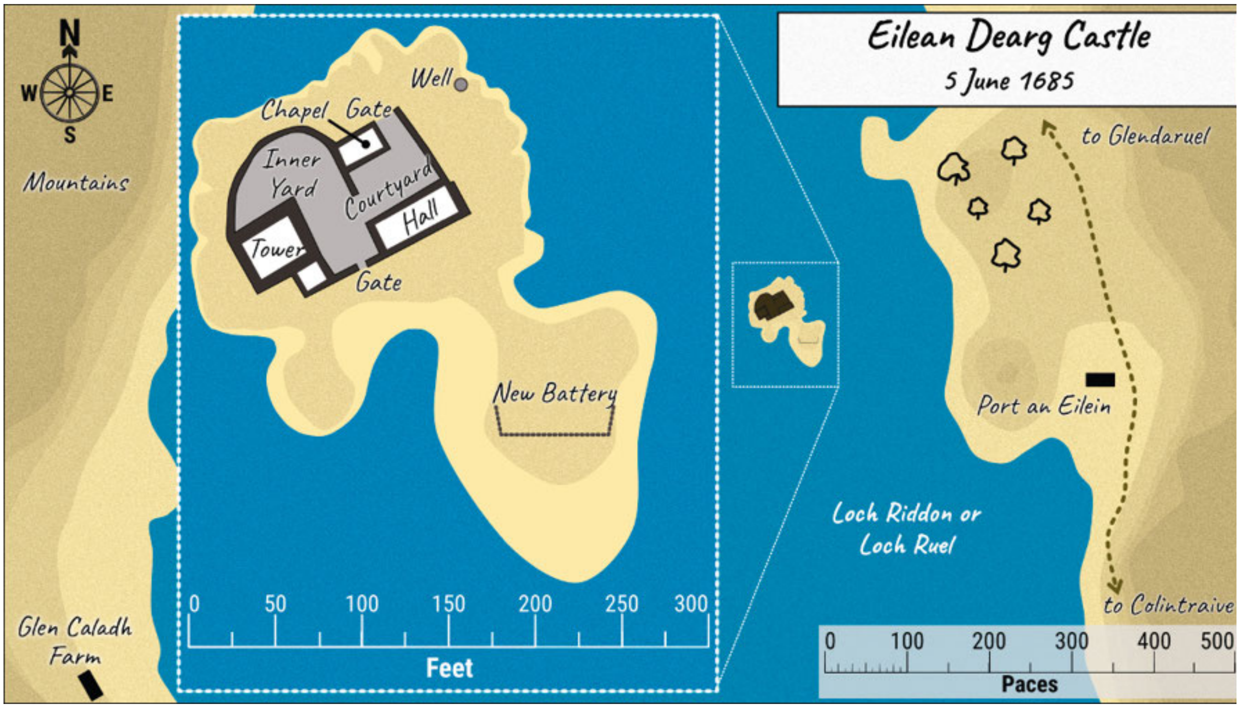
As the Whigs returned empty-handed, other than capturing a fancy skiff, Argyll proposed that the army moved onto the Cowal Peninsular and establish a magazine at Eilean Dearg. Cochrane had no other option than to agree.

However, news of the landing spread and within days Covenanter mobs started to muster and one started marching north gathering support on the way. By the time it reached Sanquhar, the mob numbered over 300 angry Whigs. Unfortunately, when reports of the

Whig uprising arrived, Lord Claverhouse was close by with two troops of regular horse. Acting quickly, Claverhouse attacked the mob and dispersed them, putting many to the sword.

What if when the Whigs entered Greenock, they discovered a Covenanter mob numbering over 500 men? The outcome would have been massive for the Whig cause. Leaving Major Fullerton behind with two companies of veterans and two of Lowlanders, the recruits were loaded onto the fleet. HMY Charlotte now appeared and attempted to block the channel west. The larger Whig ships engaged the Charlotte and after a brief combat, sank the yacht and reached Castle Toward. Here Argyll was convinced by the number of recruits to change his plans. The fleet would take the Army across to Greenock and march on Glasgow.

5 June 1685 – Eilean Dearg


Eilean Dearg Castle
5 June 1685
N
W
E
S
Mountains
Well
Chapel
Gate
Inner Yard
Courtyard
Hall
Tower
Gate
New Battery
to Glendaruel
Port an Eilein
Loch Riddon or Loch Ruel
to Colintraive
Glen Caladh Farm
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
Feet
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

After Argyll's plan to seize and hold Inveraray had been vetoed by the council of war. His second option was to establish a base on the Cowal Peninsular. This decision was reinforced after the return of the two reconnaissance parties. His son had confirmed that the castle of Eilean Dearg would be a good location for the magazine. Without objection from the Council of War, the Earl moved his base to Eilean Dearg. Once the old castle was secured, the stores for the magazine were off-loaded from the fleet and a new battery was erected outside the castle. This contained four pieces of field ordnance. The bulk of the army moved into camp at Glendaruel and the fleet anchored behind the island.

By 10 June, the Whigs were ready to make their next move and Argyll dispatched a force under Colonel Rumbold to secure the northern entrance to the peninsular. Rumbold advanced to a place called Ardkinglas Castle. However, Argyll's plan was to move his army north to attack Inveraray.

10 June 1685 – Blockade

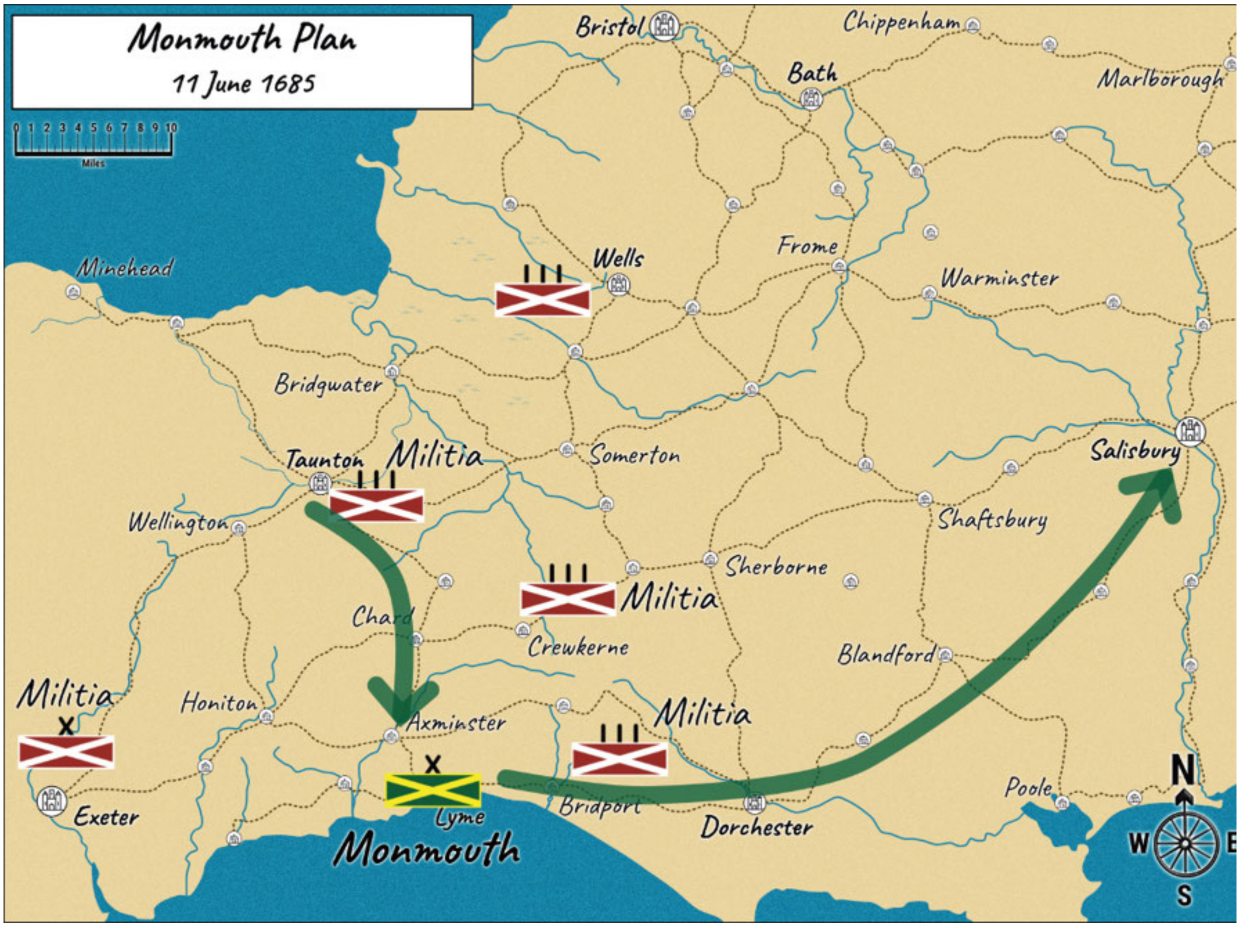
In the mouth of Loch Ruel, the Royal Navy had started their blockade with three frigates. The largest was HMS Kingfisher commanded by Commodore Hamilton. This ship had an experienced crew, who had faced pirates in the Mediterranean and crossed the Atlantic several times. The other ships in Hamilton's squadron, were HMS Mermaid, HMS Falcon and an unnamed fireship. They were later joined by HMY Arran and HMY Charlotte. The opening shots were from the Whig battery established on Eilean Dearg, who fired whenever the Royal Navy came in close. Unfortunately, the round shot from the 6-

pounders that formed the battery just bounced off the thick hulls of the frigates.

With the obvious threat of these ships to his magazine, Argyll called a council of war to discuss possible actions. To help with the discussion he had also invited the captains from his Dutch warships. What he proposed was that they attack the enemy fleet. As the tide ebbed, the larger ships would sail to the entrance of the loch and engage the frigates, possibly sending out one of the captured merchantmen as a fireship. Then the fleet of small skiffs and rowing boats packed with soldiers, would board the enemy ships and overrun the crews. However, the Dutch captains refused to attack the British fleet.

What if the Dutch captains had agreed to attack the Royal Navy? The campaign would totally change on the outcome of the battle. If victorious the Whigs could sail up the Clyde to Glasgow, or if defeated could they hold out much longer.

11 June 1685 – Lyme Landings

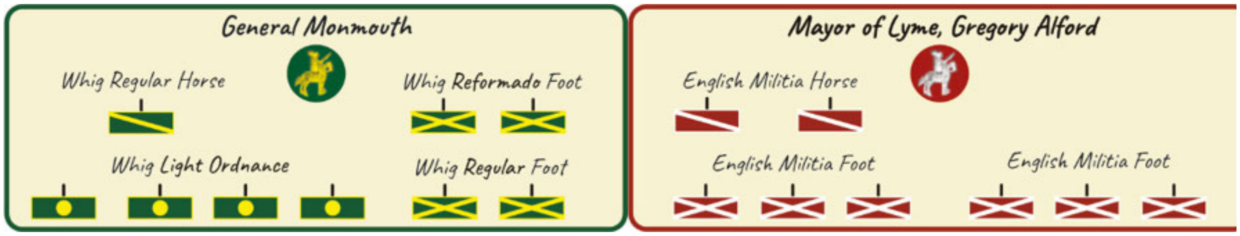

Monmouth Plan
11 June 1685
Miles
Bristol
Chippenham
Bath
Marlborough
Minehead
Wells
Frome
Warminster
Bridgwater
Taunton
Militia
Somerton
Salisbury
Wellington
Shaftsbury
Sherborne
Militia
Chard
Crewkerne
Blandford
Militia
Honiton
Axminster
Militia
Poole
Lyme
Bridport
Dorchester
Exeter
Monmouth
N
W
E
S

The Whig fleet arrived off the Dorset coast on 10 June and that evening the Whigs sent a boat ashore containing Thomas Dare and Colonel Venner. Both men had important missions. Dare was to visit all the rich sympathisers and collect the funds that they had promised. Venner was to head straight to Taunton and alert Bovett of the next day's landing. The plan was to raise a new army and then once joined by Bovett, to march on London.

What if the Whigs had risen up in Taunton when news of Monmouth's landing reached them? If Bovett was victorious, over the next few days, recruits would flood in from across Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire. Then two days later, the Red Regiment would occupy Bridport to secure the vital bridges. As soon as Bovett's *men arrive from Taunton the march on London could begin. (Turn to the Fictional Battle of Tidpit Ford).*

Objective

The Whigs need to secure the town of Lyme. If they can hold the port until the following morning, then the recruits will flood in and all the military equipment can be disembarked. The first part of the Whig plan will be in place, but the town may resist, or the Militia could be waiting.


General Monmouth
Whig Regular Horse
Whig Reformado Foot
Whig Light Ordnance
Whig Regular Foot
Mayor of Lyme, Gregory Alford
English Militia Horse
English Militia Foot
English Militia Foot

Whig Deployment

The following day the fleet of three ships sailed into Lyme Bay and at seven o’clock in the morning Monmouth was rowed ashore. The invasion had begun.

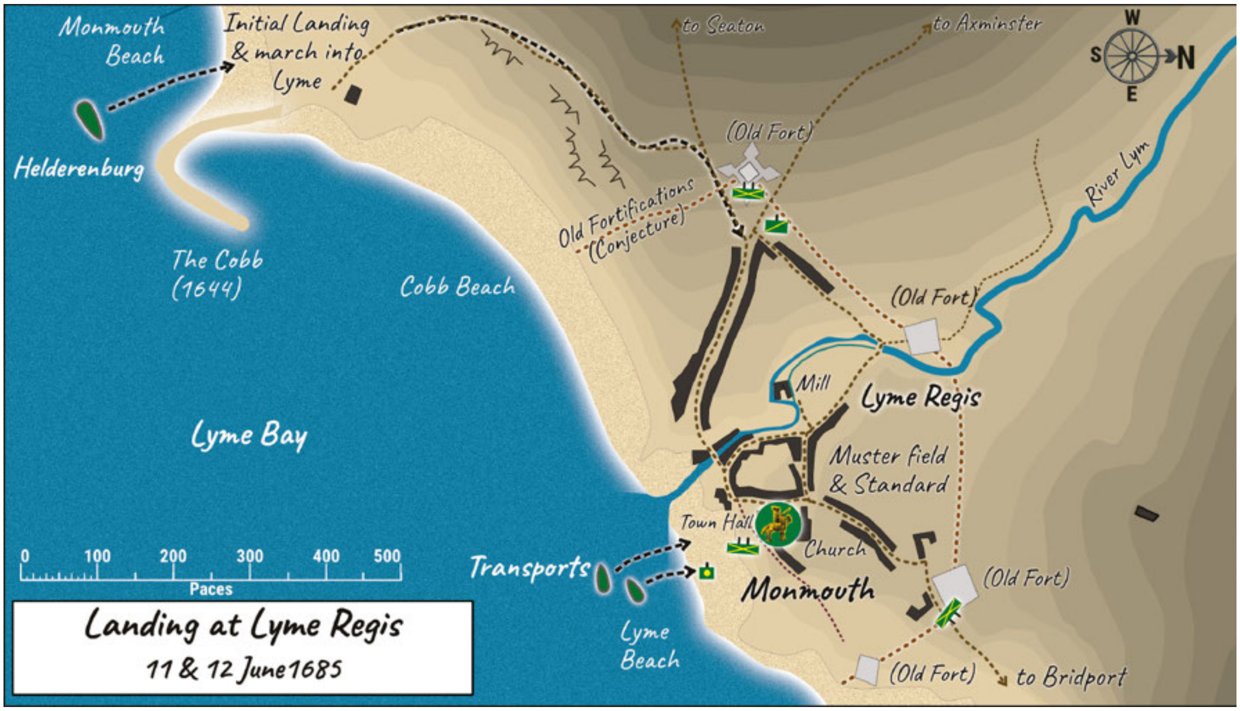
Monmouth’s forces quickly secured the old outworks and fortifications of Lyme and on the night of 11 June, they waited for an attack that never came. Throughout the following day recruits flocked to join the Whig army and these were hastily enlisted, equipped with weapons and formed into companies in either the Red or the White regiments.

During the following day, Major Manley's cavalry patrol drew first blood after clashing with some militia horse near Bridport.

Government Deployment

As the three unknown ships entered Lyme Bay around midday and approach the town, the customs men boarded their skiff and rowed out to check the cargos. The official boarded the first ship only to be promptly placed under arrest. After several hours had passed and there was no sight of the customs men, the town major began to get worried, although the warship appeared to by flying the Government flag. Then they watched as the boats moved to anchor under the cobb, which indicated they would stay overnight in the bay. At seven o'clock that evening, after the last post had left, three longboats came ashore. Then half an hour later a large mob came into the town, at its front were purple-clad soldiers and the Duke of Monmouth.

After seeing the enemy marching into the town, rather than calling out the town militia, the mayor made a hasty departure travelling overnight to Honiton. From here, he sent messengers to Exeter, Bath, Dorchester and then set off to London. That evening the militia in Bridport heard the news and started sending out patrols, but failed do the correct thing militarily and immediately attack the Whigs just miles away in Lyme.


Monmouth Beach
Initial Landing & march into Lyme
to Seaton
to Axminster
W
S
N
E
Helderenburg
(Old Fort)
River Lym
Old Fortifications (Conjecture)
The Cobb (1644)
Cobb Beach
(Old Fort)
Mill
Lyme Regis
Lyme Bay
Muster field & Standard
Town Hall
Church
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
Transports
Monmouth
(Old Fort)
Lyme Beach
(Old Fort)
to Bridport
Landing at Lyme Regis
11 & 12 June 1685

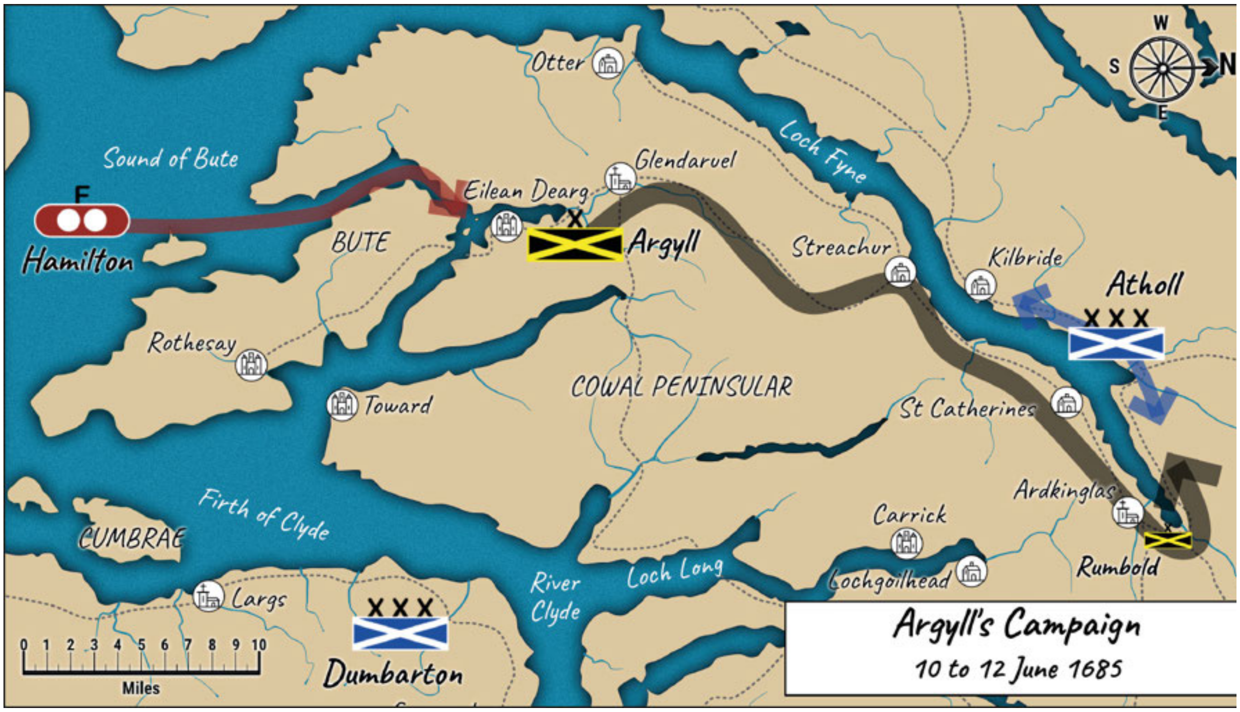
Aftermath

On 13 June, the mayor went straight to his MP, Sir Winston Churchill, who then visited his son John Churchill and together they attended the King in Whitehall. The King called together his council of war and they agreed to send a brigade to Salisbury, while the Guards made ready to advance west once the military situation was known. The intelligence pointed to the Whig objective being Bristol and the Lord Lieutenant was issued warnings accordingly and ordered to avoid engaging with the enemy.

The brigade ordered to rendezvous at Salisbury was to include four troops of horse, two troops of dragoons and Kirke's regiment of foot. However, it would take a week for the brigade to muster because these forces were spread across the south of England. The objective of this combined brigade, placed under Churchill, was to block the direct road from Lyme to London and cover the march of Monmouth's army. That night Churchill rode south with two troops of the Oxford Blues and two days later galloped into Salisbury.

11 June 1685 – Argyll Secures the Cowal

With his Dutch Captains refusing to attack the Royal Navy, Argyll had to hope that the shallow entrance to Loch Ruel would be enough of a defence. After leaving Colonel Lapness with three companies to hold Castle Eilean Dearg, he marched north to support Rumbold's force that had left the day before.


Otter
Sound of Bute
F
Hamilton
Eilean Dearg
Glendaruel
Loch Fyne
W
S
N
E
BUTE
X
Argyll
Streachur
Kilbride
Atholl
XXX
Rothesay
Toward
COWAL PENINSULAR
St Catherines
Ardkinglas
Firth of Clyde
CUMBRAE
Carrick
Lochgoilhead
Rumbold
River Clyde
Loch Long
Cargs
XXX
Dumbarton
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Argyll's Campaign
10 to 12 June 1685

11 June 1685 – Kilbride Ferry

Atholl was alerted to the Whig movement after they passed through St Catherines on the other side of Loch Fyne, less than a mile from his base in Inveraray. Atholl had been in the town for over 10 days and was aware of Whig activity on the Cowal. However, after repeated warnings from Dumbarton and the Secret Committee he not to attack and Atholl was happy to stay secure in his stronghold with his vast army.

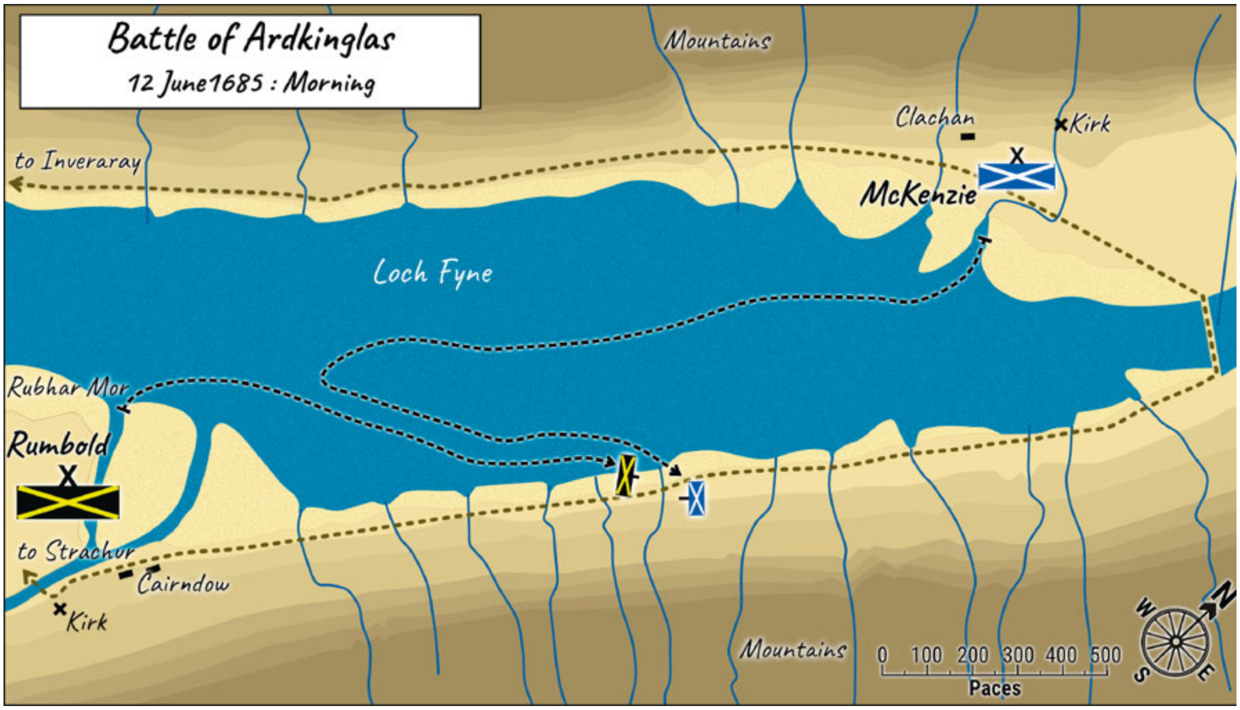
The core of this was composed of three Highland Watch companies, two regular companies from Mar's Regiment and a troop of regular dragoons. Atholl also had his own Perthshire Militia horse and foot regiments plus a number of old leather artillery pieces dating back to the 1640s. The remainder of his army was an unreliable mixture of Highland clans, some with suspect loyalties.

However, his newly arrived military advisor, Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, unaware of the exact situation, ordered Laird Lochnell to secure the ferry at Kilbride. However, Atholl had already placed Lord Murray's militia horse in this location. Therefore, on the night of 11 June, two forces marched out of Inveraray, one north to the loch head, the other south to the ferry over the loch.

With warnings that the Whigs might be crossing using the ferry at Kilbride, the Laird of Lochnell strode out of Inveraray with his household retainers and three companies of his Highland tenants, about 400 soldiers. To reach the ferry, Lochnell took his men through the line held by the Laird of Bea of Mar, but soon afterwards his scouts spotted figures in the night just ahead. The Laird readied his men for combat. Luckily, disaster was averted when one of his officers recognised a friendly face, they were the Macleans and not the enemy.

As Lochnell moved closer to the ferry, once more his scout's reported enemy ahead, this time mounted. Not wishing to risk another incident, Lochnell moved forwards and saw possibly 50 cavalry all in Lowland dress. Once more the Laird readied his men and approached the enemy unseen. The element of surprise was on their side and within moments five enemy troopers were dead or wounded. Then a warning was called out and the units disengaged. It now transpired that they had been fighting Lord Murray's troop of militia. Unfortunately, Lochnell had not been given any information about friendly units in the area. However, existing doubts about his loyalty sparked fear and from now on the Campbells of Lochnell were not to be trusted.

12 June 1685 – Battle of Ardkinglas

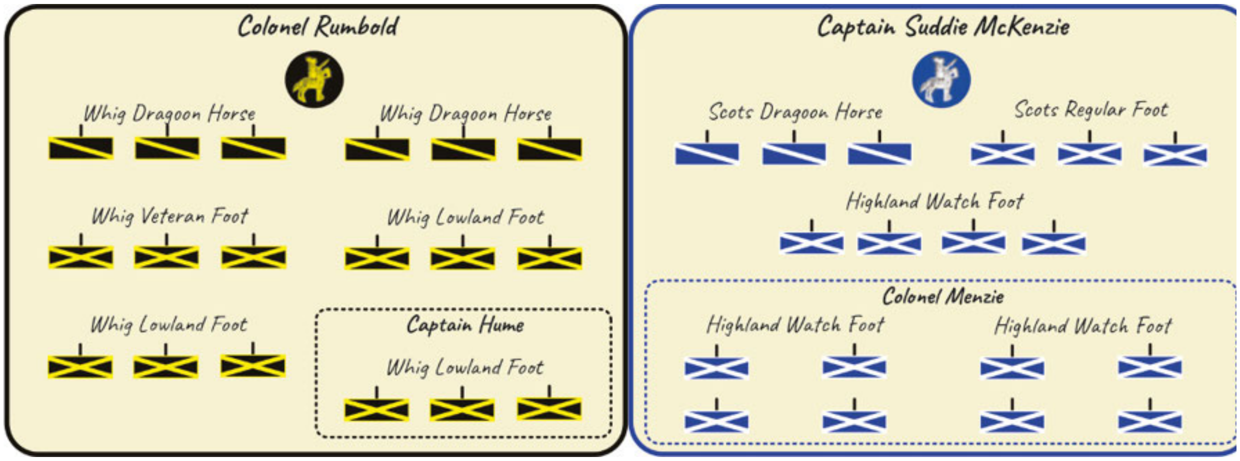

Battle of Ardkinglas
12 June1685 : Morning
Mountains
Clachan
Kirk
to Inveraray
McKenzie
Loch Fyne
Rubhar Mor
Rumbold
to Strachur
Cairndow
Kirk
Mountains
0 100 200 300 400 500
Paces
N
E
S
W

Objectives

The Whigs need to secure the entrance to the Cowal Peninsular and if possible, the road to Inveraray. The Government player needs to take Ardkinglas Castle and push the Whigs off the map, before Argyll arrives with the bulk of the Whig army.

Government Deployment

Correctly fearing that the enemy force was planning an attack, Atholl sent Captain McKenzie with the two regular companies and the troop of dragoons to block the road along the loch shore. On the night of 11 June, Captain McKenzie watched the Whig campfires across the loch. Early the following morning, he sent out a boat containing a party of musketeers. These scouts had orders to estimate enemy numbers and identify their positions.

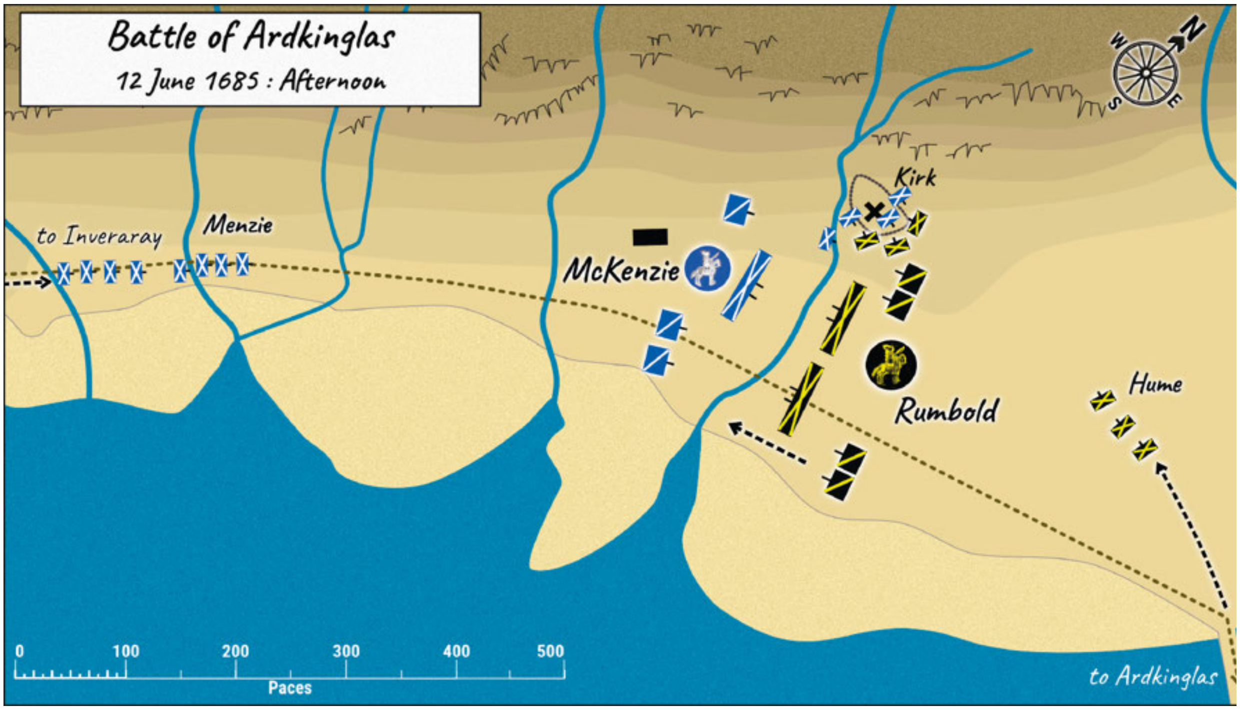

Colonel Rumbold
Whig Dragoon Horse
Whig Dragoon Horse
Whig Veteran Foot
Whig Lowland Foot
Whig Lowland Foot
Captain Hume
Whig Lowland Foot
Captain Suddie McKenzie
Scots Dragoon Horse
Scots Regular Foot
Highland Watch Foot
Colonel Menzie
Highland Watch Foot
Highland Watch Foot

Whig Deployment

Rumbold arrived on 11 June with a force that possibly contained three infantry companies and two troops of dragoons. The Whigs quickly established a camp in the grounds of the old castle. This experienced officer then deployed his soldiers to cover the ford over the river that crossed his front and established a main guard. As the boat crossed the loch they were spotted and the Whigs sent out a larger vessel to intercept. This forced the Government soldiers ashore on the Ardkinglas bank and abandoning their boats, they took shelter in an enclosure.

The Battle

Colonel Rumbold saw an opportunity to gain some intelligence and sent out a patrol of cavalry to capture the enemy soldiers. Across the loch, McKenzie realised the danger and dispatched his own cavalry to rescue his men. The result was a chase around the loch head to where McKenzie had formed his men into a line of battle. Rumbold took the bait. The Whig commander marched his force in pursuit and drew up into a line of battle, facing the Government army. McKenzie’s actual line of battle is not known, but his left flank may have been anchored on an old kirk which sat at the end of a ridge, which turned into a craggy hillside. His right flank was on the loch shore. To his front was a narrow stream that provided a little cover.


Battle of Ardkinglas
12 June 1685 : Afternoon
to Inveraray
Menzie
McKenzie
Kirk
Rumbold
Hume
to Ardkinglas
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
W
N
E
S

Facing this position was the experienced Colonel Rumbold. His first action was to deploy his veteran company against the small Government force holding the kirk. After vicious fighting, the kirk was taken but McKenzie simply pulled back to the next streamline. At each stage, the hillside became craggier and better for the defenders. Argyll's army now appeared on the other side of the Loch and it may have been this movement that prompted Atholl to also send reinforcements to McKenzie. This was a force of 500 soldiers, under an officer named Menzies, probably Colonel Menzies the commander of the Highland Watch.

Captain Hume&s veteran Scots company attacked by Government Highlanders 1685. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

The first Whig reinforcements to arrive on the battlefield was the veteran company of Captain Hume. They had been sent ahead of the main army and Rumbold sent them to support his right flank. Hume’s men pushed the enemy back and gained ground. However, Menzies had deployed his fresh troops onto the ground above the Whig’s right flank and they counter-attacked. This renewed assault pushed the Whigs back across the same ground they had advanced over, from stream to stream. Behind them Argyll had formed his army into a line of battle and this checked any further Government advance.

With dusk setting in, McKenzie tried one last attempt to secure victory. He sent a large boat packed with soldiers across the loch. They were to attack Argyll's rear and seize Ardkinglas Castle. However, Argyll had left Colonel Auchinbreck in reserve with a small force. The Colonel countered the new threat by launching his own boats. After a brisk firefight, the Government boat was forced to sail back to Inveraray. McKenzie had no choice but to withdraw his soldiers back along the coast road towards Inveraray. Happy with his victory, Argyll let his men rest, ready to march on Inveraray the next day.

Aftermath

Although a Whig victory, the battle of Ardkinglas demonstrates the challenges facing Argyll. The first was his inability to attack the Royal Navy, which if successful would have changed the character of the war. His army would have been free to roam the Clyde estuary, possibly even adding a couple of real warships to his fleet. This would have been a total game-changer, possibly resulting in more recruits, a second English invasion and even some high-ranking military defections to the Whig cause.

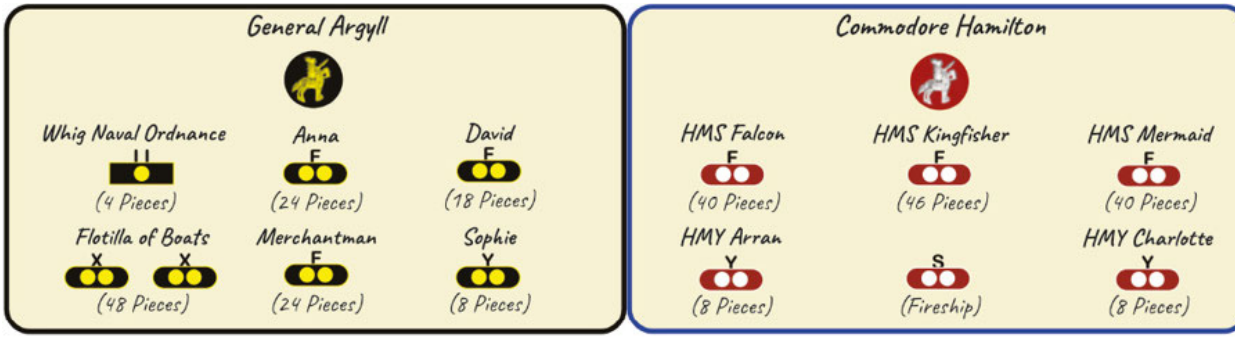
The Whig victory celebration was cut short when a message arrived from Eilean Dearg. The navy was closing in on the Whig magazine, but with Inveraray only miles away Argyll was close to his prize. This was Argyll's second challenge; how to take Inveraray without upsetting the Army Council. By capturing his capital in the Highlands, Argyll would have been able to recruit men from his own lands. This would have created a massive logistical problem for the Government, who would have had to attack the extremely defensible position by land and sea. However, rather than attacking Inveraray, Argyll retreated back to Eilean Dearg.

What if Argyll had gambled all and attacked Inveraray? The outcome would be that the following morning the victorious army of Argyll pressed on up the coast road towards Inveraray. Overnight he had dispatched two of his veteran companies, his son Charles and two Highland companies under Colonel Auchinbreck down to St Catherines, to seize the ferry. (Turn to the fictional battle of Inveraray)

15 June 1685 – Battle of Eilean Dearg

Objective

The Royal Navy are planning to seize the Whig stronghold of Eilean Dearg. If the Whigs can hold out or defeat the powerful warships of Commodore Hamilton then Argyll wins the encounter.


General Argyll
Whig Naval Ordnance
II
(4 Pieces)
Anna
F
(24 Pieces)
David
F
(18 Pieces)
Flotilla of Boats
X
X
(48 Pieces)
Merchantman
F
(24 Pieces)
Sophie
Y
(8 Pieces)
Commodore Hamilton
HMS Falcon
F
(40 Pieces)
HMS Kingfisher
F
(46 Pieces)
HMS Mermaid
F
(40 Pieces)
HMY Arran
Y
(8 Pieces)
S
(Fireship)
HMY Charlotte
Y
(8 Pieces)

Whig Deployment

On receiving the news that the Royal Navy had closed Loch Ruel, just hours after his victory at Ardkinglas, Argyll set off south with all the horse. As he departed, he left orders for Colonel Auchinbreck to march the rest of the army to Glendaruel and then fortify the camp. On reaching Eilean Dearg in the early hours of 14 June he could see that the Royal Navy was waiting for the next high tide to engage the Whig fleet.

Once more Argyll implored the Dutch captains to ready their ships for war, but again they refused to act. Faced with no other choice, Argyll decided to march east. Rejoining the army and marching into Glendaruel, he ordered Lapness to hold the Castle for as long as possible, before exploding the magazine and pulling back.

Government Deployment

Over the past few days, Commadore Hamilton had been assessing the currents and tides in the loch. The local pilot assured Hamilton that the shallows that marked the entrance to Loch Ruel could be crossed at high tide. Furthermore, the pilot indicated that the best time to cross would be on the morning of 15 June. HMS Kingfisher was the largest ship in the fleet and she would lead the attack.

The Battle

At 9 o’clock on the morning of 15 June, HMS Kingfisher crossed the shallows. Although the large frigate scraped its hull, luckily, the ship made it across safely. Following in line were HMS Falcon, the

Fireship and HMS Mermaid. As the crew of the Kingfisher waited to receive fire, a small rowing boat emerged from the shadows. On the prow, stood a man desperately waving a white shirt on an oar. Hamilton ordered a party to take a longboat ashore, while the Kingfisher turned broadside on towards the castle, ready to open fire. Meanwhile, the Falcon and Mermaid cautiously moved towards the Whig fleet still at anchor behind the castle. As they closed to engage the Dutch ships, each one dropped their colours and surrendered.

After intercepting the smaller craft, the longboat picked up its pace, slamming into the beach next to the Whig battery. Then minutes later, Hamilton could see the crew re-emerge. The Whigs had abandoned the fort hours earlier, setting a slow fuse in the powder store. Luckily, one of the hostages from Orkney had freed the other captives and rowed across to warn the navy. The quickthinking seamen then rushed into the magazine and cut the fuse. The castle had fallen, but Argyll had slipped away.

English frigate firing on Eilean Dreag Castle 1685. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

Aftermath

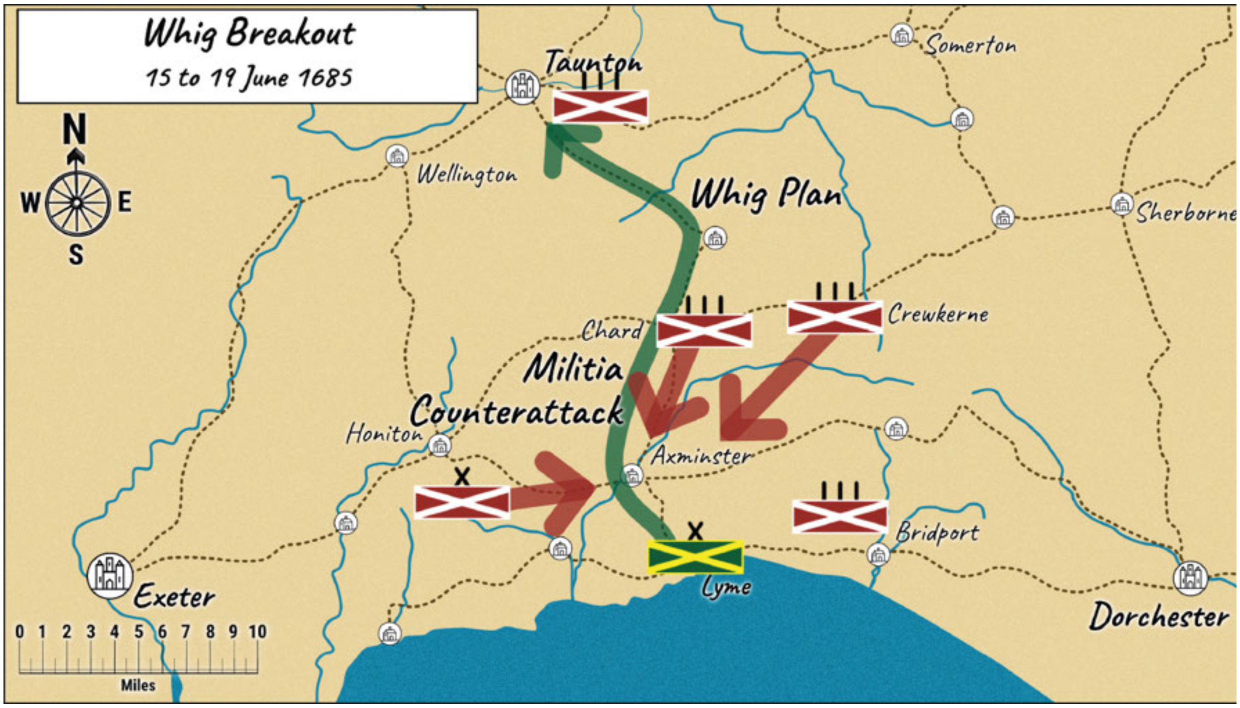
While the Royal Navy launched their attack, Argyll marched east and started his advance on Glasgow. A few hours later, Atholl’s vanguard arrived at Eilean Dearg and was surprised to find Argyll gone and the Royal Navy in control of the loch. Even though Atholl met with Hamilton the following day, neither started searching for Argyll.

On 20 June 1685, the castle of Eilean Dearg was blown apart by the Royal Navy and all that remains today is a small flat island, surmounted by a couple of trees. However, on 15 June, if the garrison and Whig fleet had put up a defence, the outcome could have been very different.

What if the Dutch Captains had agreed to defend Eilean Dearg? As HMS Kingfisher crossed the shallows at the entrance of Loch Ruel, the Whig battery opens fire with chain shot, aimed at the rigging. (Turn to the fictional Battle of Loch Ruel).

13 June 1685 – Monmouth's Breakout

On 13 June, Colonel Venner arrived from Taunton with news that the planned rising had not happened due to a strong militia presence in the town. This was a big blow to the Whig plans, stopping any rapid advance on London via Bridport, Dorchester and then Salisbury. Recruits had reported that the Devonshire militia were marching from Exeter and that the Dorset militia held Bridport. Monmouth and his inner circle agreed to march on Taunton, but first the militia at Bridport needed to be neutralised. Being just nine miles away they would be a threat to the Whig army's flank and rear. Therefore, it was agreed that a detachment led by Brigadier Fletcher would march out that evening to attack the militia at Bridport.


Whig Breakout
15 to 19 June 1685
N
W
E
S
Taunton
Somerton
Wellington
Whig Plan
Sherborne
Chard
Crewkerne
Militia
Counterattack
Honiton
Axminster
Bridport
Lyme
Exeter
Dorchester
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles

However, while plans were being finalised for the raid, there was another setback. Brigadier Fletcher and Mr Dare got into a fight over a grey gelding. The result was fatal to both Dare and the campaign. Monmouth had no choice but to imprison Fletcher and stripped him of his commission. With the death of Dare, Monmouth lost access to a network of secret sympathetic financiers. Yet the attack on Bridport still had to take place.

14 June 1685 – Battle of Bridport

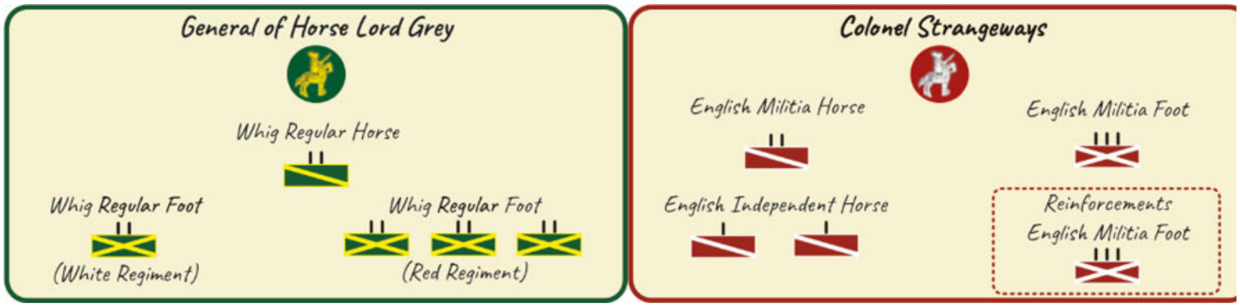
Objectives

The Whig forces must attack the Government quarters and seize their horses. To do this they must take the town and stop any

Government forces from following them after they withdraw. For the Government forces to win they must push the Whig forces out of the town and capture or kill half the Whig forces.

Government Deployment

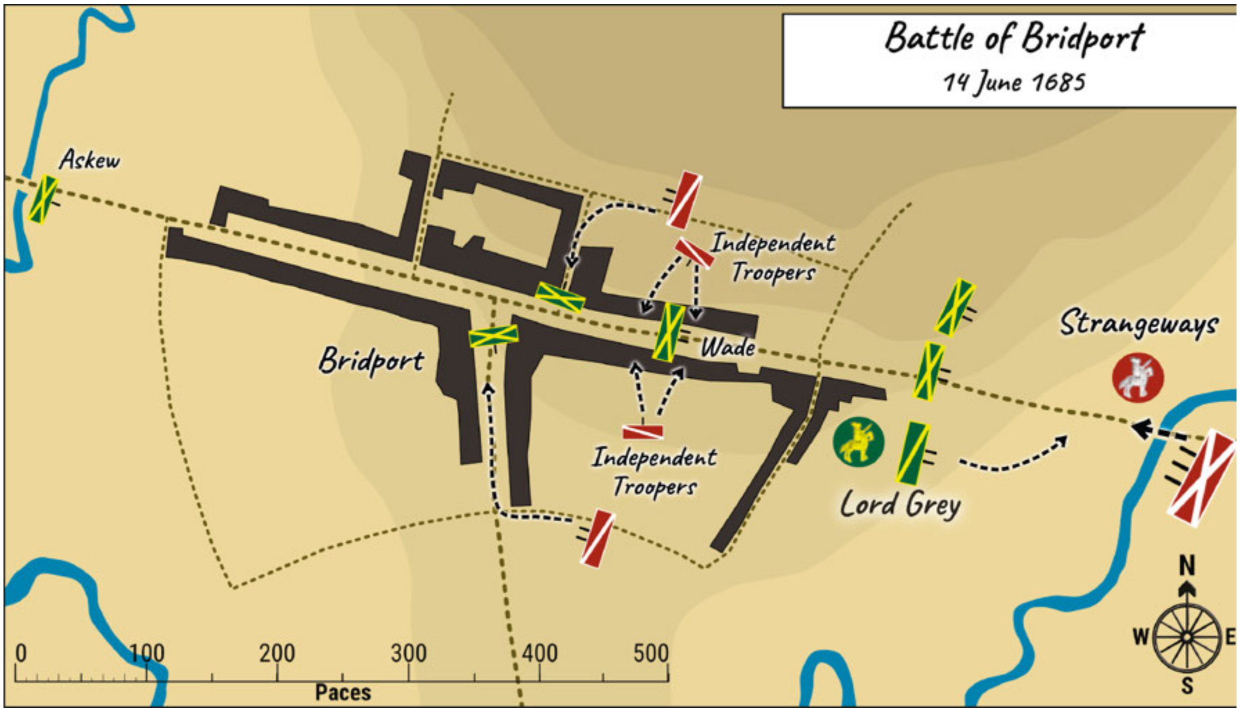
With reports of bands of Whig cavalry roaming the Dorset countryside and intercepted letters forewarning the authorities, the Dorset militia had been called out twice. By 11 June they were coming close to the end of their 10 days service when news reached them of Monmouth’s landing at Lyme. The following day, troopers from the militia clashed with the Whigs near the village of Chideock. Some militia horse and over 200 volunteers were gathering in Bridport and with Colonel Strangeways’ men already in camp and Colonel Portman’s militia regiment marching to join them, the London Road was secure.


General of Horse Lord Grey
Whig Regular Horse
Whig Regular Foot
(White Regiment)
Whig Regular Foot
(Red Regiment)
Colonel Strangeways
English Militia Horse
English Militia Foot
English Independent Horse
Reinforcements
English Militia Foot

On 14 June, the militia officers received orders from the king. These stated that they should not engage the enemy until reinforcements of regulars arrived. Colonel Strangeways had pitched his camp on the eastern side of the town, blocking the main road to London and securing the bridge out of town, while the cavalry troop of Captain Haynes and the local volunteers held the town centre. However, no one had considered guarding the bridge on the Lyme side of Bridport. With a few cavalry troopers on sentry duty and the volunteers either in the local inns or in their billets, everything was quiet in the early hours of 14 June.

Whig Deployment

The Bridport operation now fell on the shoulders of Brigadier Venner and Monmouth’s trusted friend Lord Grey. Although the commander was Lord Grey, it was recognised that Venner would be the effective leader of the detachment. That night the composite force marched to Bridport, arriving before sunrise. They found the bridge over the River Brit unguarded and shrouded in mist and moved into the town.


Battle of Bridport
14 June 1685
Askew
Independent Troopers
Wade
Bridport
Independent Troopers
Strangeways
Lord Grey
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
N
W
E
S

The Battle

As the Whig infantry advanced up the broad street into the centre of the town, the half-awake sentries fired a few warning shots and received a stiff volley in reply, forcing the guards to run for cover. In their camp across the river the militia drummers started beating the assembly. The soldiers rushed to put on shoes, coats and grab their equipment. While back in the town, the Whigs deployed bodies of pikes and musket divisions into the side streets and then carefully moved towards the militia camp.

Aroused from their warm beds by the drummers, the militiamen ran to the drawing-up space in front of their tents. Here they lit their match and dressed their ranks, before Strangeways ordered his men across the bridge and form up on the far side. With the town secure, two of the Whig companies deployed into line to face the militia, while Lord Grey's cavalry formed up on the flanks. Then all hell broke loose behind them.

In the town, the militia horse had mounted and burst out of the side streets hoping to outflank the Whig forces. Then the volunteers opened up a devastating fire from the windows and alleyways. In the chaos that followed, Colonel Venner was wounded and Major Wade struggled to organise a defence. Meanwhile, Lord Grey's troopers cantered forwards to attack the militia infantry, who were still deploying across the bridge. However, as the first blasts of musket shot erupted from both sides, the raw troopers on untrained horses with their novice commander, took fright and they galloped back through the town.

At this point, all would have been lost for the Whigs, if the cool head of Major Wade had not taken over. Ignoring his orders to run from Colonel Venner, Wade regained control of the situation. The flank attacks by the enemy cavalry had been repelled and after hand-to-hand fighting the Whigs had secured the town. Wade rallied the leading companies and skilfully performed a fighting retreat back through the town.

An English Militia Company c.1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

After the savage melee, the militia had lost their appetite for a battle and let the Whig infantry march back to Lyme in good order. As Wade reached the outskirts of the Lyme, he was greeted by Monmouth who was leading the bulk of the Whig army. The Duke was somewhat surprised to find Wade and his infantry in good order, after Venner and Lord Grey had told him that the foot had been cut to pieces. Back in Bridport, Strangeways was now joined by Colonel Portman and both agreed to follow their orders from Whitehall rather than moving on Lyme.

Aftermath

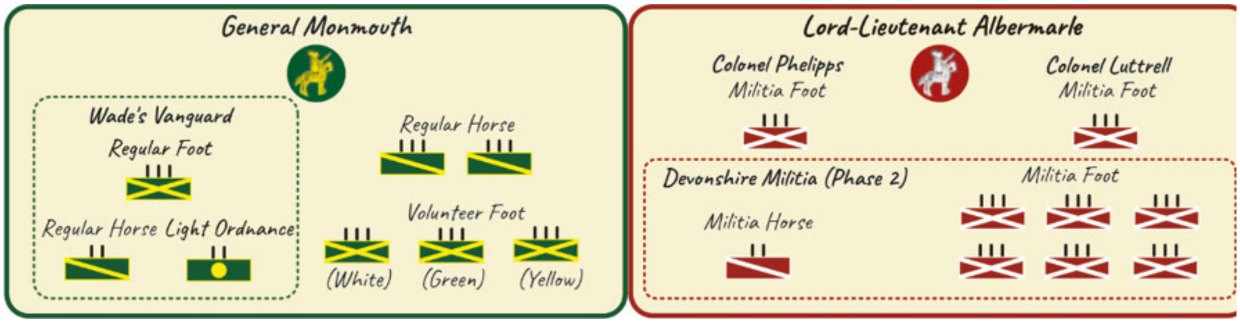
At first glance, Bridport appears to be a Whig defeat. However, even after the rout of the cavalry, the Whigs achieved their objective, neutralising the militia at Bridport. Had they wished to fight their way through the town to London, Monmouth would have deployed his full force and waited a couple of days. In Government circles, the battle was seen as a defeat for the militia and resulted in orders being sent from Whitehall that the militia should only be employed to contain and not engage with the Whigs.

Churchill arrived in Salisbury to learn of the battle at Bridport and rather than waiting for his brigade to muster, rushed west, leaving orders for the rest of brigade to follow. At the same time a train of artillery and several light guns, accompanied by four companies of Trelawny’s regiment, left Portsmouth to join the troops at Salisbury.

15 June 1685 –the Battle of Axminster

Objectives

The Government forces must block all the roads out of Axminster and stop the Whigs marching to Taunton. The Whigs must take Axminster and secure the road to Chard.


General Monmouth
Wade's Vanguard
Regular Foot
Regular Horse
Light Ordnance
Regular Horse
Volunteer Foot
(White)
(Green)
(Yellow)
Lord-Lieutenant Albermarle
Colonel Phelipps
Militia Foot
Colonel Luttrell
Militia Foot
Devonshire Militia (Phase 2)
Militia Horse
Militia Foot

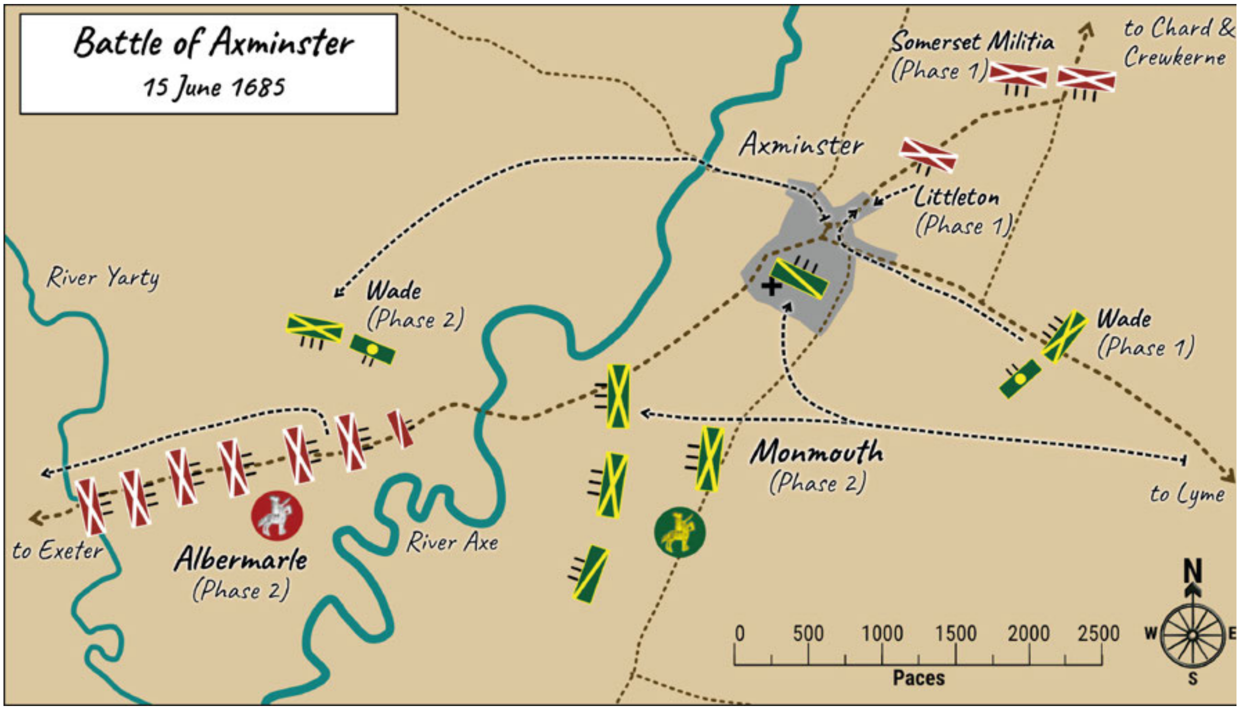
Government Deployment

On 2 June, after intelligence had been received by local officials of the pending invasion, they mobilised the Devonshire militia and sealed the gates to Exeter. A week later, the county's Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Albemarle, arrived in the city and ordered all the county militia regiments to join him. On the evening of 11 June, Albemarle received news of the Whigs landing and the following day he marched east to Honiton. As his forces marched east, he had been in communication with Colonel Luttrell at Taunton and Colonel Phelipps at Crewkerne. They agreed to rendezvous at Axminster on 15 June. Two days later, the six Devonshire militia regiments, nearly 3,000 soldiers, were in Shute, just seven miles from Lyme. On the morning of 15 June, all three forces were on different roads heading to the small market town of Axminster.

Whig Deployment

Monmouth had been receiving reports of Albemarle’s move west from recruits arriving in Lyme. With the return of Wade and the infantry from Bridport, the Duke called a council of war and they agree to leave Lyme and march to Taunton. The challenge for Monmouth was the formation of the train of artillery which needed lots of wagons and draught horses or oxen. However, in the end there was no room for the armour and helmets procured for the cavalry and 5,000 sets remained on the quayside, together with some of the barrels of powder.

The following morning at 11 o’clock, the Whig army marched from Lyme and the Helderenberg sailed out to sea. The vanguard was composed of the five companies of the Red Regiment under the command of Major Wade and the light artillery under Captain Buyse. Behind them came the main body containing the White and Green Regiments, with the train of artillery in the centre, then the baggage and finally in the rearguard the Yellow Regiment. Monmouth had about 1,500 infantry and around 300 troopers in six troops of well-equipped cavalry.


Battle of Axminster
15 June 1685
Somerset Militia
(Phase 1)
to Chard &
Crewkerne
Axminster
Littleton
(Phase 1)
River Yarty
Wade
(Phase 2)
Wade
(Phase 1)
Monmouth
(Phase 2)
to Lyme
to Exeter
Albermarle
(Phase 2)
River Axe
0
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
Paces
N
W
E
S

The Battle

Overnight rumours spread within the Somerset militia that Albemarle had changed sides and joined Monmouth. Therefore, when Captain Littleton's company from Luttrell's regiment arrived in Axminster to see the Whig vanguard marching towards the town, fear spread throughout the ranks. When purple-coated soldiers appeared, Littleton's men broke, dropping weapons and fled back the way they had come, straight into the rest of the regiment. The panic spread like wildfire along the militia column, forcing Luttrell and Phelipps to order a withdrawal back to Chard and Crewkerne.

When Wade's men marched into the town, they had no time to gather discarded equipment as the Devonshire militia could be seen on the road from Exeter. Wade was ordered to move north and cross the River Axe. He was to take up a flanking position with the light artillery pieces. Then Monmouth drew his small army up into formation covering the south bridge over the Axe, while cavalry patrols guarded the northern flank.

Albemarle’s force was still in marching order when it stumbled into the ambush set by Wade and Buyse. After the first volley the Devonshire militia recoiled, then the second broke their spirits, causing panic. Within moments Albemarle’s men were running back towards Shute. Wade fired a third volley and moved forwards. However, Monmouth ordered Wade to stand, stating that the militia was not the enemy. That night while the Whigs collected the discarded weapons and equipment, a score or more militiamen turned their coats and joined Monmouth.

Colonel Luttrell's Regiment of Foot raised from his Militia Regiment in 1685. (From the collection of Mark Shearwood)

Aftermath

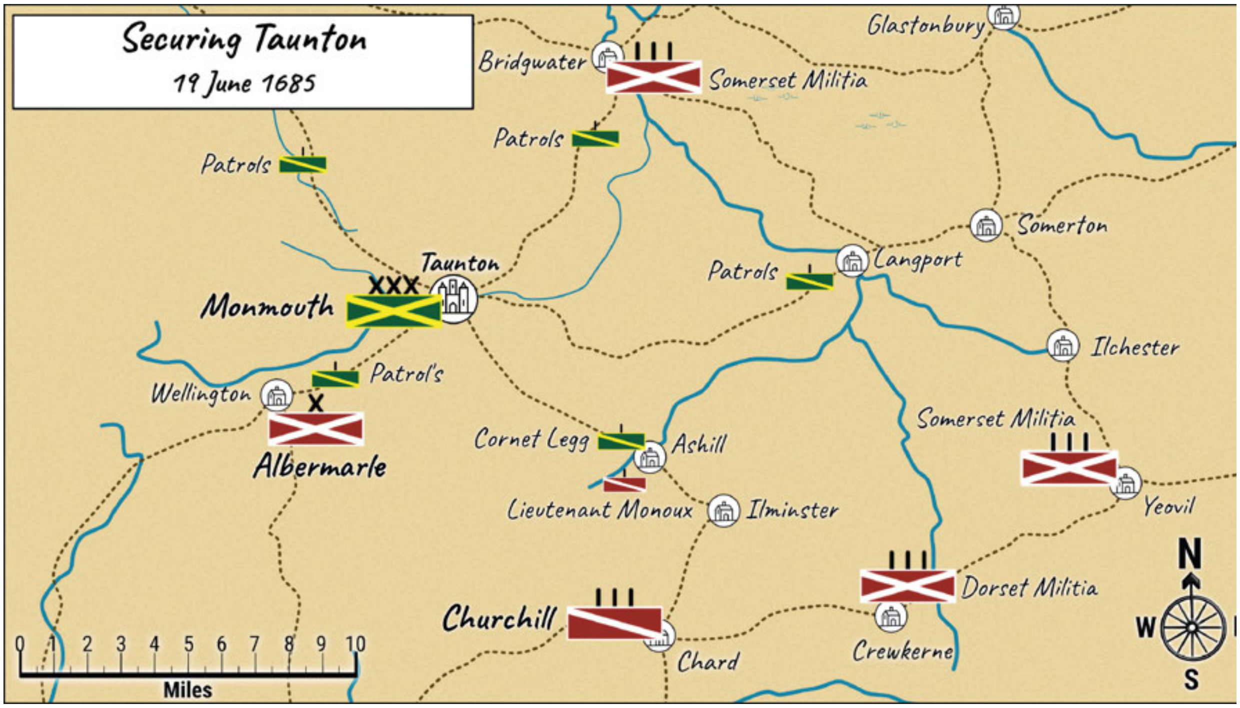
For the Whigs, the battle of Axminster was a turning point and the success created an air of triumph in the army. Over the next few days, with the militia neutralised, possibly 2,000 men joined Monmouth before he reached Taunton. Here they found Taunton in arms and waiting to join the rising after Stawell's militia regiment moved out the night before, leaving more equipment and the armoury. A few days later two companies of Stawell's militia mutinied and joined Monmouth.

What if the Somerset Militia had stood firm? This outcome could have stopped Monmouth's invasion in its tracks. The militia has been given bad press by historians. However, at Bridport, the militia put up a good fight and later outside Bath they didn't just run. The failure at Axminster is down to a lack of confidence, especially as Whitehall had ordered them not to engage the Whigs. There were accounts of the soldiers being equipped with old muskets without bullet moulds and with pay in arrears. Both of these factors would have impacted on morale. Therefore, given the chance to engage the Whigs, the militia would have put up a good fight.(Turn to the fictional Battle of Axminster)

19 June 1685 – Battle of Ashill

Objectives

The battle of Ashill is typical of all skirmishes between opposing cavalry patrols. These happened every day once the regular cavalry arrived under Churchill. Until this point the Whig cavalry had been able to roam the countryside without interference. The objective of these clashes was to gather intelligence on the size and location of the enemy army. The victors would therefore hope to gain valuable information. However, it could take several successive little victories like these to learn the exact enemy location and size of their army. Patrols would always be in squads, with other the two squads of the troop acting as cover. At Ashill, the Government army did not have enough horse to provide supporting patrols.


Securing Taunton
19 June 1685
Bridgwater
Somerset Militia
Glastonbury
Patrols
Patrols
Somerton
Langport
Patrols
Taunton
XXX
Monmouth
Patrol's
Wellington
X
Albermarle
Cornet Legg
Ashill
Lieutenant Monoux
Ilminster
Ilchester
Somerset Militia
Yeovil
Dorset Militia
Churchill
Chard
Crewkerne
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
N
W
S

Whig Deployment

After the success at Axminster, Monmouth's army moved to Chard and then onto Ilminster, where they released Whig prisoners from the gaol. On route, more and more recruits joined the army and equipment was collected from various stockpiles. On 18 June, the Whig army camped on the outskirts of Taunton with sentries and guards placed on the roads, while Monmouth and the leadership entered the town to be greeted as liberators. Here they found Colonel Bovett and the other leaders released from prison. Whig mobs had broken into the armoury and taken up the militia weapons left behind by Stawell’s Regiment.

The following day, the army marched through cheering crowds into the centre of the town. It was here that Monmouth and his officers restructured the army and formed a new regiment. This was the Taunton Blue Regiment under Colonel Bovett. Then the maids of the town presented the company colours to the reorganised regiments. This reorganisation included the transfer of all Taunton men into the new Blue Regiment, plus a scythe company was added to each regiment. As the Devonshire militia had arrived at Wellington, that evening the Red Regiment guarded the road west. Further afield troops of Whig cavalry patrolled the surrounding countryside.

Government Deployment

Churchill reached Salisbury on 15 June, where he learnt of the Battle of Bridport. Leaving orders for his brigade to follow, two days later he arrived in Bridport with two troops of horse. Once more bad news awaited his arrival, as Monmouth had moved west brushing aside the militia. After ordering the Dorset militia to block the London Road at Sherborne, Churchill met with Albemarle at Slute on 18 June.

The Devonshire militia would move to Wellington and Churchill moved his meagre force to Chard. His duty now was to locate the enemy and he sent out patrols towards Taunton. One of these was Lieutenant Monoux’s 24 troopers from Captain Littleton’s troop of the Oxford Blues. On this patrol he was accompanied by the regimental adjutant, Lieutenant Lloyd. Towards the end of the day, Monoux moved towards the village of Ashill.

The Battle

Cornet Legg commanded a squad of 18 well-armed regular horsemen that trotted towards the village of Ashill when they were engaged by Lieutenant Monoux’s troop of Oxford Blues. The clash possibly began with the classic exchange of pistol and carbine fire, during which both commanding officers fell to the ground. Then the troopers on both sides drew their swords and closed into combat.

However, Legg’s squad was not alone and Lieutenant Lloyd saw the Whig reinforcements approaching. Having had the better of the first clash, Lloyd ordered the remaining troopers to withdraw, leaving Monoux and three other troopers dead on the field. The outnumbered Whigs suffered the loss of Legg and two troopers, but they had gained a small victory.

Aftermath

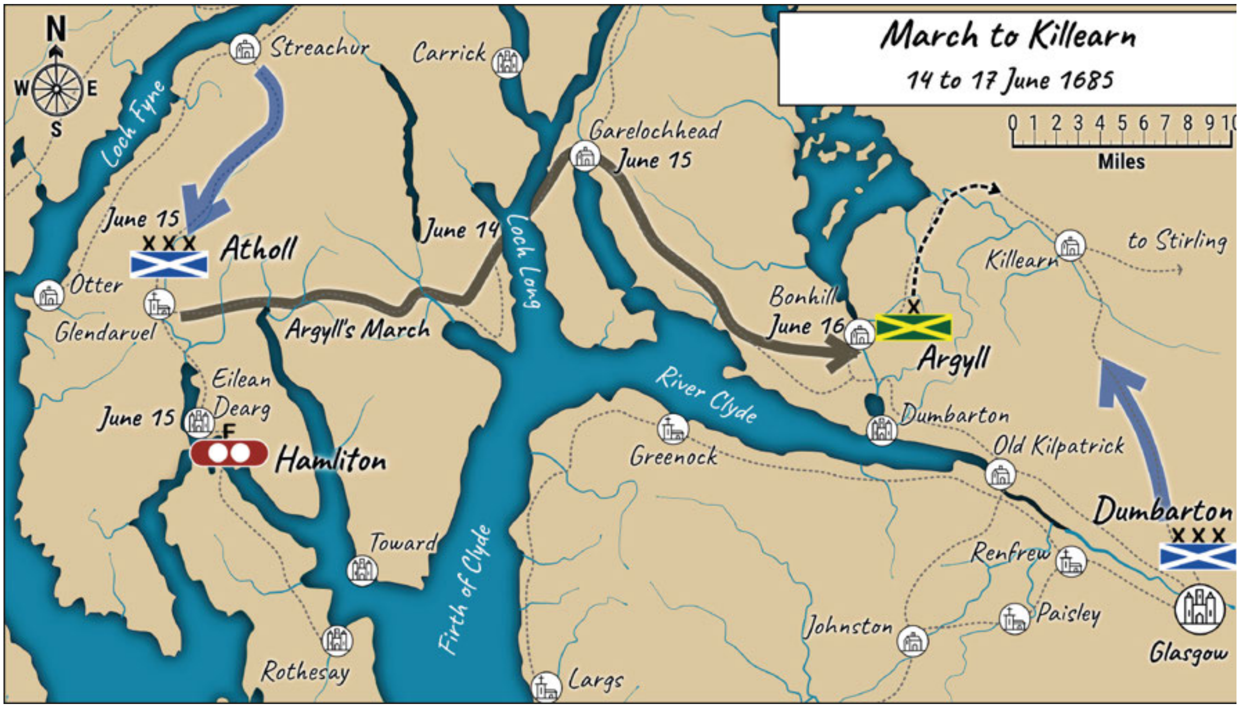
Both cavalry patrols returned to their respective commanders with useful intelligence. Monmouth learnt that troopers from Oxford’s regiment had arrived. While Churchill heard of the superior equipment of the Whig cavalry. Over the next few days, both sides sent out patrols and further clashes took place near Langport and possibly Wells.

20 June 1685 – King Monmouth!

The following day, Monmouth was proclaimed King in Taunton and his new troop of Lifeguards was formed. The same day, Churchill received orders to block the Whig army's march north. However, with only two or possibly three troops of horse and the Dorset militia, Churchill sent orders to Colonel Kirk and his brigade to march to Somerton. On 21 June, the Whig army marched to Bridgwater and then onto Shepton Mallet via Glastonbury.

What if Monmouth was not proclaimed King? Recruitment would begin drying up. However, this step is critical but can only be made the day after Bovett joins the army. Once proclaimed King, Monmouth raises a troop of Lifeguards and the nearest militia units must take an outcome test to see how many join the Whigs.

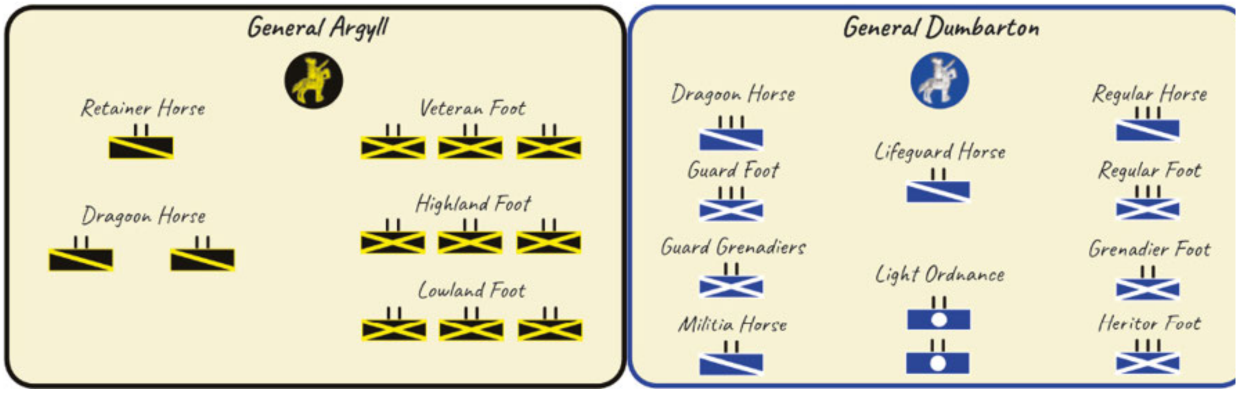
15 to 17 June 1685 – Argyll's March East


March to Killearn
14 to 17 June 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
N
W
E
S
Loch Fyne
Streachur
Carrick
Garelochhead
June 15
June 15
Atholl
June 14
Loch Long
Otter
Glendaruel
Argyll's March
Bonhill
June 16
Argyll
Killearn
to Stirling
Eilean
Dearg
June 15
Hamilton
River Clyde
Greenock
Dumbarton
Old Kilpatrick
Dumbarton
Toward
Firth of Clyde
Renfrew
Paisley
Johnston
Glasgow
Rothesay
Largs

After withdrawing from Eilean Dearg, on 15 June Argyll's army crossed Loch Long and entered the town of Garelochhead unopposed the next day. On the night of 16 June, the Whigs crossed the River Leven and camped near Bonhill. Argyll's new plan was to march on Glasgow, re-group, recruit and hold out until news of Monmouth's victory reached Scotland. The Government forces were totally unaware of Argyll's move east.

Objective

The Whigs need to breakout from the Cowal Peninsular, to reach either Stirling or Glasgow. While the Government have to block the Whig movement and not lose a battle.


General Argyll
Retainer Horse
Veteran Foot
Highland Foot
Dragoon Horse
Lowland Foot
General Dumbarton
Dragoon Horse
Regular Horse
Lifeguard Horse
Guard Foot
Regular Foot
Guard Grenadiers
Grenadier Foot
Light Ordnance
Militia Horse
Heritor Foot

Whig Deployment

However, the soldiers had been on the move for over a week and Rumbold's men in particular were exhausted. The ranks were becoming disordered, with large gaps appearing in the companies as men slipped off home. As a result, the army mustered less than 1,000 men.

Until now they had not been troubled by any Government forces and the hope amongst the officers was that they had broken free. However, as they set off once more, enemy cavalry was seen on the hills behind them and the army halted. After an hour the riders disappeared and the Whigs headed on the north-eastern road towards Drymen, avoiding the town of Dumbarton. It was here that the army rested and found whatever provisions they could and by two o'clock that afternoon they were marching on full stomachs. Then as they approached the town of Killearn, Argyll's scouts reported that a large body of enemy horsemen was approaching. The Whig commanders had no choice but to deploy into a line of battle along a ridge facing south.

Government Deployment

No reports of the Whigs had reached the Earl of Dumbarton since Hamilton’s splendid news about the capture of Eilean Dearg. Then in the late afternoon, a messenger arrived in Glasgow from the governor of Dumbarton Castle. The Whigs had been seen marching north towards Drymen on the Stirling Road. Instantly understanding the danger to Stirling, Dumbarton called a council of war. The army needed to move fast and he would take all the cavalry north, while the infantry and artillery would follow behind. With this, Dumbarton moved off towards Killearn with around 500 troopers, including the troop of Lifeguards.

Stand-off at Killearn

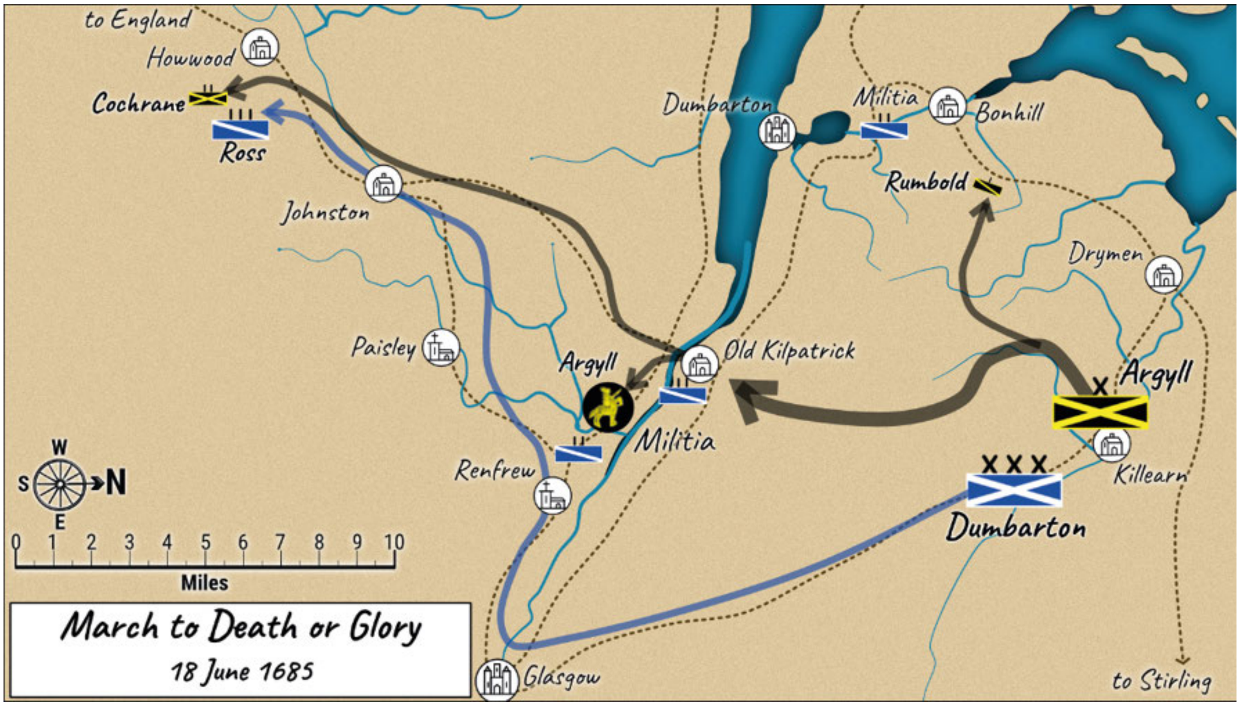
Dumbarton’s flying column of cavalry arrived on the southern bank of the Carnock Burn, to discover the Whig’s drawn up along the ridge on the northern side. However, the ground concealed a dangerously deep ravine on the left, with a fast-flowing stream at the bottom. While in the centre was a ford which was overlooked by the enemy line. With no other options, Dumbarton waited for the infantry and artillery. However, as this arrived at sunset there was no time left to launch the attack and the Government army bivouacked for the night.

Argyll watched as the enemy brought up more and more infantry and then finally some light artillery pieces. The Whigs were outnumbered possibly three to one, but they held the perfect defensive position and the battle could go their way. However, Argyll had another plan and called a council of war. He proposed that they create large campfires, then quietly march west across the hills to the ferry at Old Kilpatrick.

If they could reach the southern bank of the River Clyde by daybreak, the army could regroup and recruit fresh soldiers. However, against the advice of the more experienced officers, for the first time the council agreed to Argyll’s proposal.

What if Argyll and stood and fought at Killearn? Victory would have secured Glasgow for the Whigs, bringing more recruits and possibly winning the war for King Monmouth. (Test for the outcome of the army council meeting and turn to the fictional Battle of Killearn).

17 June 1685 – Night March to Old Kilpatrick


to England
Howwood
Cochrane
III
Ross
Johnston
Dumbarton
Militia
Bonhill
Rumbold
Drymen
Paisley
Argyll
Old Kilpatrick
Militia
X
Argyll
Renfrew
XXX
Killearn
Dumbarton
W
S
N
E
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
March to Death or Glory
18 June 1685
Glasgow
to Stirling

With blazing campfires hiding their movement the army started its march. At first everything went to plan. Under the leadership of Sir John Cochrane, the veteran companies at the front of the column set a fast pace. However, behind them the column started to fall apart. The first to get lost was Colonel Rumbold with the rearguard, who took a wrong path in the darkness. Then as more and more soldiers took the opportunity to slip away, the army disintegrated.

The vanguard halted when it reached the outskirts of Old Kilpatrick, where they broke into the houses to secure supplies. Then they waited, but after Argyll arrived with his sons, only stragglers appeared. With the grey glow of dawn in the sky, Cochrane couldn’t wait any longer and moved on the ferry. With two companies of veterans, he surprised the guards on the north shore and seized the ferry boat. With musketeers at the ready in the prow, the boat was rowed across the river. Seeing the approach of armed men in the ferry, the militia horse guarding the southern bank discharged a carbine volley. Undeterred, Cochrane’s men rowed on, holding their return fire until the last moment. Then the second, more ragged volley sprayed water up around the ferry as the Whigs jumped ashore and opened fire. The experienced soldiers swiftly gained control of the ferry and started reinforcing the bridgehead.

With the crossing over the Clyde secured, Cochrane asked Argyll if he wished to join the veterans on the southern bank, Argyll refused. He would not abandon his friend Rumbold, but the trickle of stragglers had dried up. It was clear that the Whig army had vanished and that the campaign was over. Argyll now issued his last orders, telling the men that they should fetch for themselves. Cochrane returned to the ferry and crossed to the southern bank with the last of the veterans. He had a different idea. They would march into England.

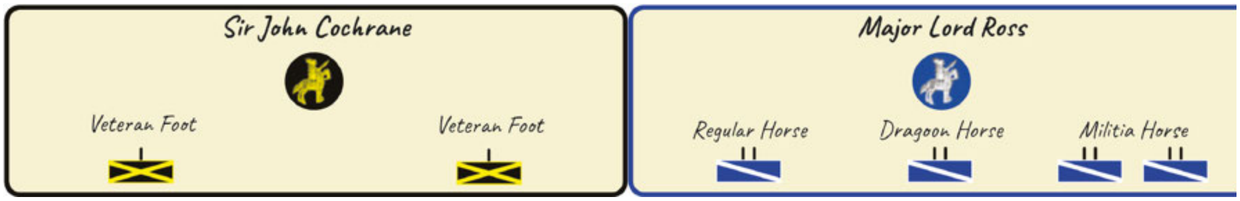
Aftermath

The march across the hills north of Kilpatrick would be a challenging task in daylight, but in the dark, on tracks very few men knew, it was always going to be a disaster. The alternative was a battle the following day, with little hope of victory against an enemy that had artillery and possibly three times the Whig numbers in cavalry. Therefore, the dark hills offered a glimmer of hope and they took it.

18 June 1685 – Battle of Muirdyke

Objective

The Government forces must catch and wipe out the Whigs before they reach England. However, the Whigs just need to be able to stay together by the end of the day.


Sir John Cochrane
Veteran Foot
Veteran Foot
Major Lord Ross
Regular Horse
Dragoon Horse
Militia Horse

Whig Deployments

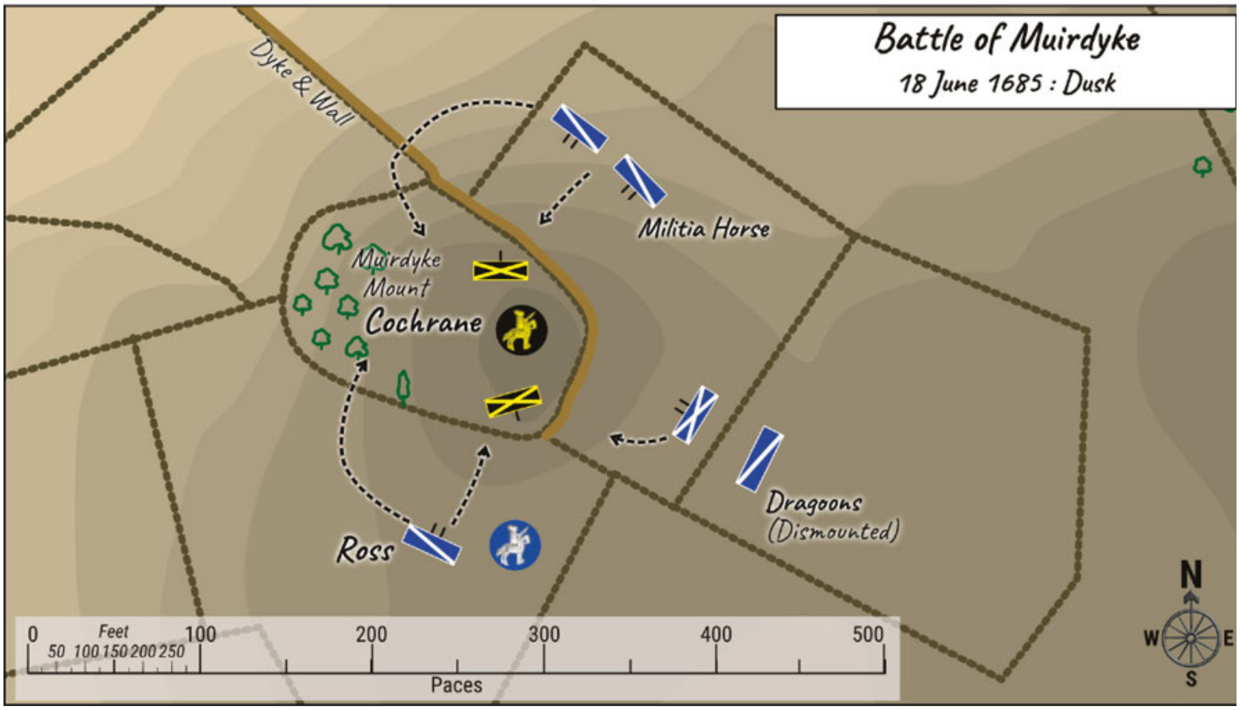
Sir John Cochrane crossed over the River Clyde with the last platoon of veterans. These men had been serving together since leaving Amsterdam, over six weeks ago. Since then, strong bonds had been formed within the ranks and amongst the officers. Cochrane called all his men together. He told them of Argyll’s order to disband and then of his plan to march to England. After electing Cochrane as their new general, they agreed to march south. For Cochrane the first challenge was victuals and after leaving vedettes covering the roads, his men set to work gathering supplies in the village of Erskine.

About an hour later he received a report that two troops of militia horse were approaching from Renfrew. Cochrane formed his men into three sections and advanced to a nearby ridge. The position was strong with a small stream running across its front. The Whigs further strengthened the location with thorn bushes and waited for the militia to attack. Instead, the cavalry simply watched and lingered. Cochrane realised that his enemy was not willing to assault and not seeing enemy reinforcements arrive, he ordered his men forwards. As the cheering veterans came down the hill the militia turned and withdrew back to Renfrew. Cochrane formed his men into a column and began the march south towards England.

Government Deployments

Dumbarton awoke to find that the Whig army had disappeared. Therefore, he ordered his cavalry out in all directions to locate the enemy. One of these patrols was led by Major Ross and was sent to scout the southern bank of the Clyde. It took several hours for Ross to move through Glasgow and across to Renfrew where he learnt that a large party of enemy soldiers were marching south. The major ordered the two troops of militia horse to join his party, which also contained his own troop of the King’s Horse and a troop of dragoons under Captain Cleland.

With intelligence from local loyalists, they tracked down the Whig soldiers. The Government cavalry covered the ground quickly and by late afternoon they were insight of the enemy near the town of Howwood. This ground was familiar to Ross and he order the dragoons and militia to follow the enemy, while he took his own troop to the left and across country. He was planning to overtake the Whigs and ambush them further up the road.


Battle of Muirdyke
18 June 1685 : Dusk
Dyke & Wall
Militia Horse
Muirdyke Mount
Cochrane
Dragoons (Dismounted)
Ross
N
W
E
S
0
Feet
50 100 150 200 250
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

The Battle

On the fast march south, some of the Whig soldiers had slipped away and only around 70 men remained with Cochrane. After a brief pause, he gave the soldiers the option to leave. Those that stayed all swore an oath to stay together until the end. Setting off once more, Cochrane was aware of the enemy cavalry close on his heels and started to look for a strong defensive position. Seeing the hill of Muirdyke nearby, he took his men off the track towards the hilltop.

As Cochrane advanced up the hillside Major Ross appeared with his troop of horse. Ross was looking to intercept the Whigs before they reached the safety of Muirdyke. Cochrane ordered his men to make ready and form a two-rank line. His well-drilled Whig veterans were ready to receive the enemy onslaught in moments. To the astonishment of Major Ross, who had expected to simply gallop over the enemy, his men received solid volley. This left Ross with no choice but to order his men to engage the enemy with pistols and carbines. This allowed Cochrane's men to fire and move up the hill, although one soldier was wounded. Seeing an easy victory disappear Major Ross sent his trumpeter forward to talk to his uncle. Cochrane agreed and while his men scrambled up the slope, he approached his nephew and dismounted. The offer from Ross was simply for the Whigs to surrender as they were all doomed. This looked certain as another cousin of Cochrane, Captain Cleland, appeared with his troop of dragoons.

However, it was the discharge of a Whig musket from the hilltop that settled the debate. As the troopers opened fire with carbines, Cochrane ran for his life. The hill of Muirdyke was the perfect defensive position, to the north and east ran an old ditch and wall. To the west was a steep tree cover slope, while to the south ran a long stone wall. Importantly, the distance from north to south wall was only 100 paces and from the summit, Cochrane had a 360 degree view of the ground.

Major Ross moved his troop to the eastern side of the hill and placed Cleland facing the northern flank. The cavalry moved forwards and possibly fired before assaulting the position. Safe behind the wall the experienced musketeers opened fire, only causing minor casualties and then readied for the charge that came moments later. The Government cavalry entered the ditch and the close-range volley was devastating. With Captain Cleland dead in the ditch, both troops of horse withdrew to the cheers of the Whigs.

Seeing the militia horse arriving, Major Ross redeployed once more. Moving his troop to face south, the dragoons shifted to the east and the two troops of militia faced north. Once more they attacked, this time the dragoons had dismounted and started to fire on the Whig line, while Ross’s men skirmished to pin down the defenders. To the north, the militia assaulted the remaining Whigs. However, Cochrane had skilled deputies and was able to move his men to repulse each enemy strike. With a firefight developing against the dragoons and a single rank covering the southern wall, Cochrane moved most of his men to face the militia who were now trying to outflank the position from the south. The experienced soldiers reacted with ease and after discharging another volley, slung their muskets and took up their halberds before charging down the hill. The militia horse disintegrated and fled towards Howwood.

Leaving the wounded and a handful of soldiers to cover that side, Cochrane rushed his men to the south. Here the cavalry had started to engage in hand-to-hand across the wall and the reinforcements arrived just in time. On the eastern flank, the dragoons were attempting to outflank the line and the Whigs counter-attacked. The dragoons ran back to their horses and remounted. On the southern flank, Ross ordered a squad of horse to outflank the Whigs through the trees on the western side of the hill. Once more Cochrane saw the move and sent his small reserve screaming down the hill forcing the cavalry back across the wall. The wounded Major Ross now had no choice but to pull his troopers back and regroup.

With only spasmodic carbine fire coming from the Government troopers, Cochrane rested his soldiers and took stock of the situation.

Amazingly, only four Whigs had been killed in the fight, while another half-dozen were wounded. That night, as the carbine fire stopped, the Whigs readied themselves to move away into the darkness. Before moving off, the Whig soldiers all renewed their oath and leaving one severely injured soldier in East Muirdyke Farm, they cautiously marched into the night.

To their surprise, the enemy was nowhere to be seen. Just before sunrise they found refuge and rested. Hours later the alarm went up as Government soldiers marched close by but did not stop to search for the Whigs. It was only now that they realised that they had almost gone in a complete circle. Without a guide, Cochrane had become lost during the night march. Over the next few nights, they hopped from shelter to shelter, but news reached them that Argyll, Rumbold and other leaders had been captured. With this, the Whig invasion of Scotland was over and Cochrane released the company from their oath. Most of the veterans reached Holland over the next weeks and months.

Aftermath

The battle of Muirdyke demonstrates the quality of the Whig veteran infantry. They had fought for three weeks, marched 100 miles, sailed from Holland to Scotland and were undefeated on the battlefield. However, the outcome of the campaign was out of their hands and it was the inaction and in-fighting within the Whig council of war, rather than Government activity that led to their downfall.

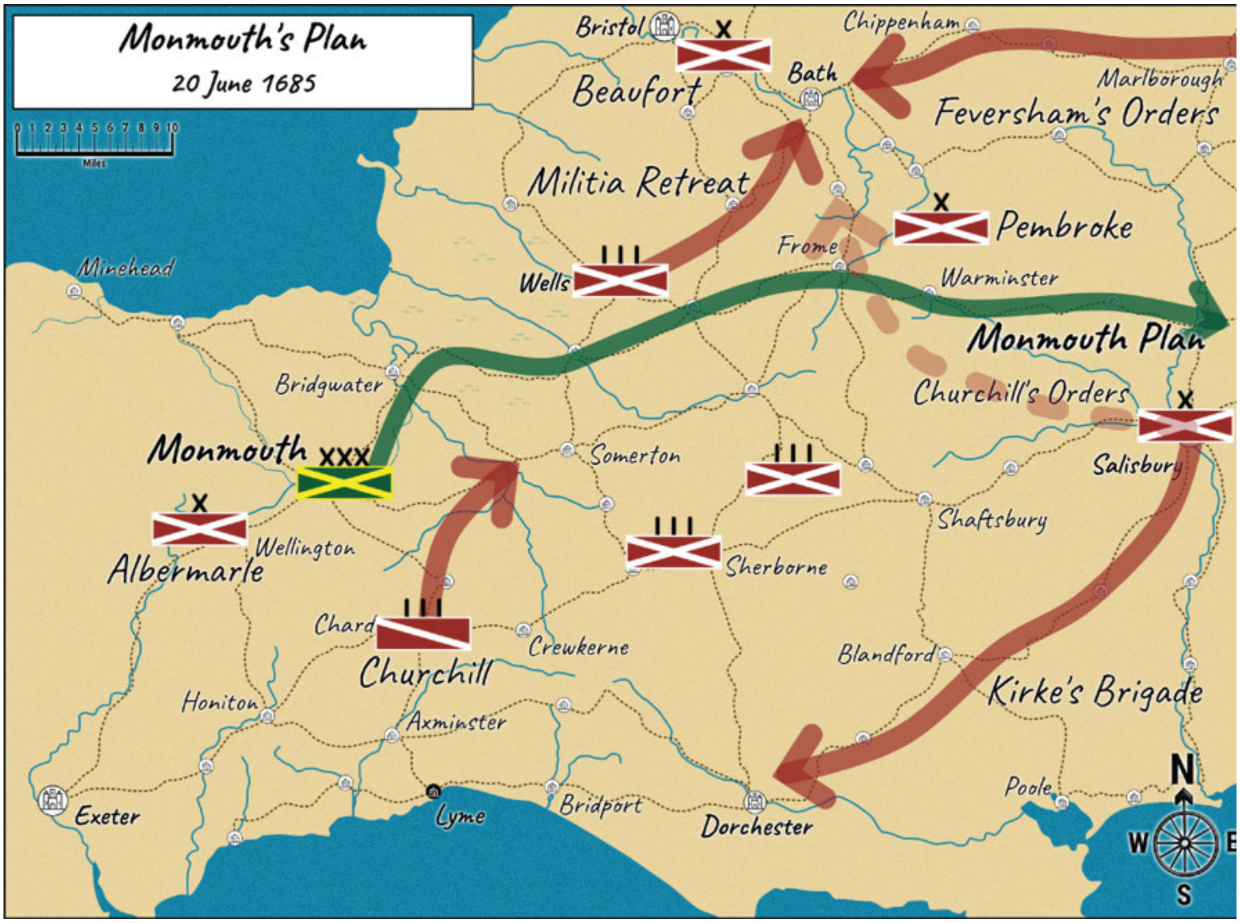
What if we step back to Drymen, 24 hours earlier? There was another possible outcome; rather than turning south to Glasgow, the Whigs *marched east towards Stirling. They would have got ahead of Dumbarton and this may have opened up an opportunity for Argyll to storm Stirling and secure victory in Scotland. However, only you can make that outcome happen.*

21 to 25 June 1685 – Moving the Armies

With Monmouth crowned King it was time to move on London. The army only had 10 days of provisions left, with which they could just about reach the capital. On 21 June, the Whig army moved to Bridgwater and then on to Glastonbury. However, the council of war was split; while Monmouth was for London, others were pressing for a move on the second city of the Kingdom, Bristol.

Objective

The Whigs must reach Warminster or Bristol, while the Government player must stop Monmouth reaching Bristol. The Government player can only attempt to stop Monmouth moving on London if the Whigs reach Frome.


Monmouth's Plan
20 June 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Bristol
Chippenham
Bath
Marlborough
Beaufort
Feversham's Orders
Militia Retreat
Pembroke
Frome
Wells
Warminster
Minehead
Monmouth Plan
Bridgwater
Churchill's Orders
Monmouth XXX
Salisbury
Somerton
Albermarle
Wellington
Shaftsbury
Sherborne
Chard
Crewkerne
Churchill
Blandford
Honiton
Axminster
Kirke's Brigade
Poole
Exeter
Lyme
Bridport
Dorchester
N
W
E
S

Government Deployment

Even before Monmouth landed at Lyme, the King was receiving intelligence that the Whigs planned to take Bristol. To support the city supplies of gunpowder, plus military advisors were sent to aid the Governor, the Earl of Beaufort. On 19 June, with Monmouth at Taunton, Churchill was ordered to use his brigade to block any Whig movement towards Bristol, while Feversham and the main army started marching towards the city on 20 June.

However, as the reports from spies continued to arrive indicating that Bristol was the Whig's objective, the King ordered that the bridge at Keynsham must be destroyed and sent an urgent request to his general to make all speed to Bristol. In response, Feversham left his infantry on the road and galloped west with the cavalry. As there had been no news from Churchill, he sent Colonel Oglethorpe out with a flying patrol to locate the enemy.

On 23 June, Feversham arrived in Bristol to discover that everything was quiet and that Beaufort had used his militia to lock down the streets. Meanwhile, the King wrote to the Prince of Orange, stating that Monmouth was marching to Bristol. That night, with Bristol held by nearly 4,000 militia, Feversham returned to Bath to await news from Oglethorpe or Churchill. However, the bridge at Keynsham had been forgotten.

On the evening of 24 June, Oglethorpe arrived in Bath, carrying the news that Monmouth was camped at Pensford, only a few miles from Bristol. This sparked another rush of activity and leaving only four companies of militia in Bath, Feversham returned to Bristol with all the cavalry, while Oglethorpe was dispatched once more to watch Monmouth and locate Churchill. Finally, a troop of Gloucestershire militia were sent to destroy the bridge at Keynsham.

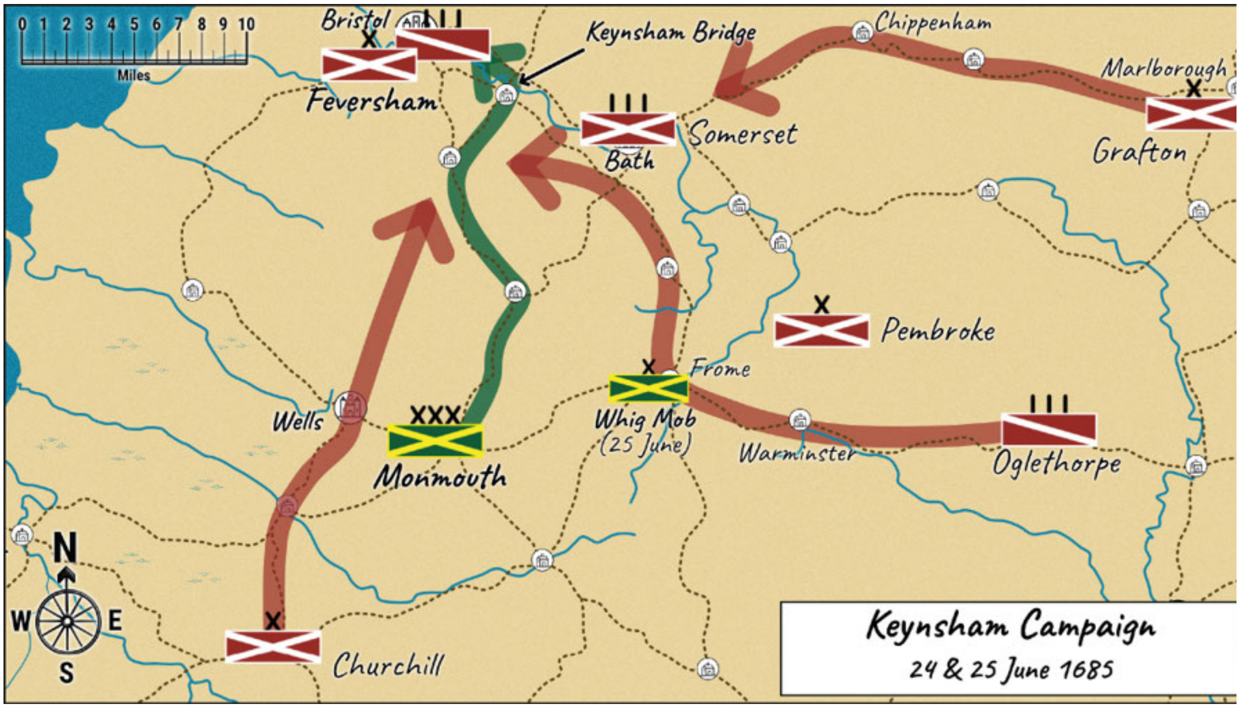
As Feversham approached the city, he could see the orange glow of the burning ship, Mary & Abraham and feared the worst. Luckily, he discovered that Beaufort and his militia still had total control of the inhabitants. Working overnight, Feversham and Beaufort had the militia level the buildings and then fortify the southern entrance to the city. By the following morning, the city was ready for the Whig onslaught and the bridge across the Avon was blocked.

Whig Movements

As Monmouth’s army reached Shepton Mallet on 23 June, they saw the first newspaper reports describing the Government army’s march west. The more worrying articles were that Argyll was close to defeat. That evening Captain Kidd returned with a new troop of volunteer horse and more equipment from around Longleat. The scoutmaster also indicated that west Wiltshire was ready to rise. At the same time, agents brought in intelligence that Bristol was an open city.

However, there were more pressing considerations, as after Dare’s death no new funds had arrived and the army only had money and provisions for a week of campaigning. The distance to the capital was at the very limit of these provisions. Yet it was possibly Major Manley’s arrival that tipped the balance. He told Monmouth that Colonel Danvers had disappeared and that there were no signs of an uprising in London. In the council of war that evening it became clear that moving on Bristol was the majority view and Monmouth issued orders for the army to move towards Pensford, before attacking the city.

What if Monmouth rejected the council of war’s counsel? The Whig player can attempt to overturn this outcome and march to Frome. (If the Duke holds firm, then turn to the fictional march on London).


0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Bristol
Keynsham Bridge
Chippenham
Marlborough
Feversham
Somerset
Bath
Grafton
Pembroke
Frome
Whig Mob
(25 June)
Wells
Monmouth
Warminster
Oglethorpe
Churchill
N
W
E
S
Keynsham Campaign
24 & 25 June 1685

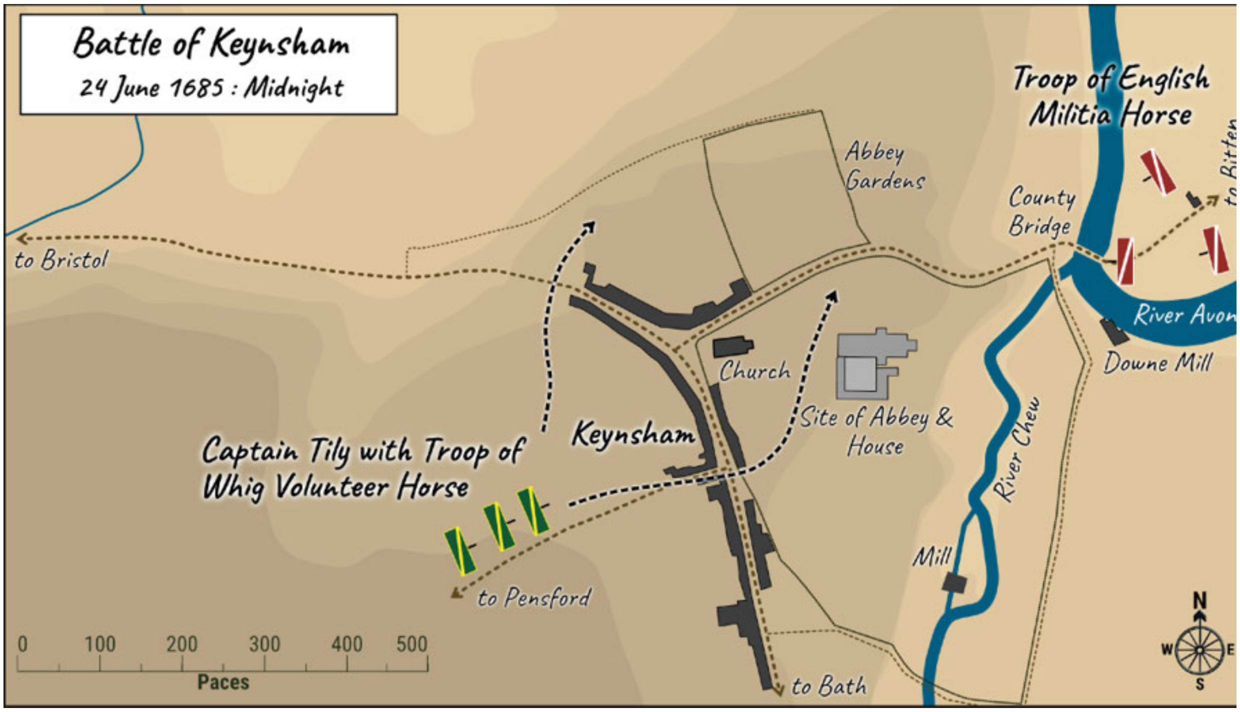
As Monmouth and his senior officers looked out over Bristol from the top of Publow Hill, they could see a burning merchant ship illuminating the city. With intelligence still indicating that the militia would join the cause and that the civilians were ready to rise up, the only decision was how to strike? The obvious move was to launch an assault on the southern side, but this would result in a hard fight across the Avon bridge. The alternative was to cross at Keynsham and attack the city from the east and it was this option that the Whigs selected. That night Monmouth dispatched a local officer with a troop of horse to seize the bridge over the Avon at Keynsham.

25 June 1685 – Capture of Keynsham Bridge

Objective

The Whigs need to secure the bridge over the River Avon at Keynsham. The Government forces must hold the bridge and stop the Whigs crossing the river.

Securing the Bridge


Battle of Keynsham
24 June 1685 : Midnight
Troop of English Militia Horse
to Bitten
Abbey Gardens
County Bridge
to Bristol
River Avon
Downe Mill
Church
Site of Abbey & House
Keynsham
Captain Tily with Troop of Whig Volunteer Horse
River Chew
Mill
to Pensford
to Bath
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
N
W
E
S

There had been a degree of confusion among the senior government commanders as to who should destroy the bridge at Keynsham. This was because it straddled the counties of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire and both Lord Lieutenants had been ordered to perform the act. There was also a degree of reluctance in severing this important bridge, it being the only trade route that bypassed the city of Bath to the east or Bristol to the west.

Therefore, the militia horse only arrived at Keynsham from Bristol on 24 June. After establishing a camp on the Gloucestershire side of the Avon, they started to break down one of the bridge’s arches. However, by nightfall the bridge was still crossable with care and no attempt had been made by the militia to guard the Somerset side of the river.

Captain Tily arrived in Keynsham late on 24 June, with orders from Monmouth to capture the bridge. The town sat on higher ground above the bridge and from this vantage point Tily could see that the crossing was only lightly guarded by militia. After dismounting his troop of horse, Tily silently moved forwards and deployed his men just beyond the illumination created by the guard fires and waited. The captain launched his assault at the mid-point in the watch and quickly overwhelmed the sentries. Rushing over the bridge Tily’s men quickly secured the camp and captured some of the militiamen. He now set about securing the northern bank and started repairing the broken arch.

What if the bridge at Keynsham was totally uncrossable? The outcome would have been vastly different. Would the Whigs attack Bristol from the south? (If this is your outcome, turn to the fictional battle of Bristol).

25 June 1685 – Battle of Frome

The Whigs of west Wiltshire and east Somerset had risen on the news that Monmouth was just a day’s march away. With the mayor of Frome declaring for King Monmouth, this had created a rallying point for the Whig mob, which had reached over 2,000 men. On 25 June, the leaders sent Captain Adlam to find Monmouth and tell him of the uprising.

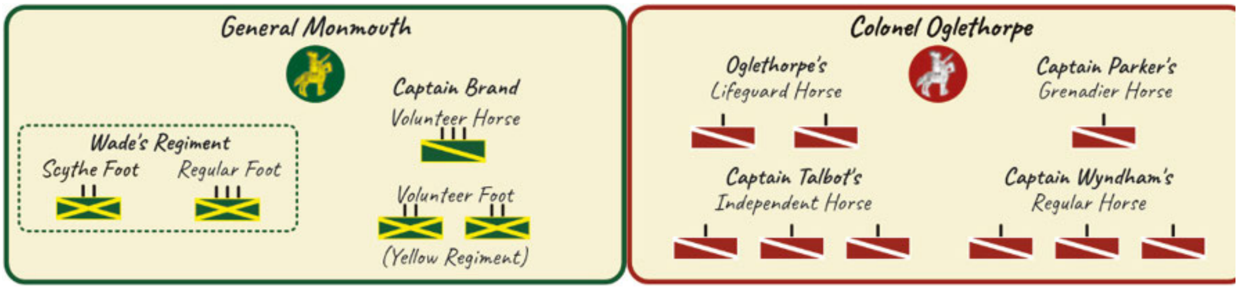
Musketeers of the Wiltshire Militia advance at the Battle of Frome.

Just 10 miles away in Trowbridge, the Earl of Pembroke received intelligence of the uprising and acted quickly. Ordering a troop of militia horse to mount up two divisions of musketeers riding pillion, Pembroke moved. Arriving outside Frome, Pembroke dismounted the musketeers and advanced into the town. As the militia approached, the mob started towards them in a disorganised mass of men. However, after a single close-range volley, followed by a cavalry charge, the Whigs ran for their lives. Within moments the uprising was over, the crowd dispersed and the mayor arrested.

25 June 1685 – Battle of Keynsham

Objective

The Government forces are looking to seize or ransack the enemy baggage train and carry off some prisoners. To win the Government player needs to seize at least one wagon. The Whigs must hold the bridge and stop the enemy seizing the town. To win, the Whigs need to repulse the enemy without losing any wagons.


General Monmouth
Captain Brand
Volunteer Horse
Wade's Regiment
Scythe Foot
Regular Foot
Volunteer Foot
(Yellow Regiment)
Colonel Oglethorpe
Oglethorpe's
Lifeguard Horse
Captain Parker's
Grenadier Horse
Captain Talbot's
Independent Horse
Captain Wyndham's
Regular Horse

Government Deployment

On the night of 24 June, Colonel Oglethorpe headed out to find Churchill and his brigade. He found his man the following morning at Wells, a day's march south of Pensford. After giving Churchill the news that Monmouth was attacking Bristol, Oglethorpe took his patrol ahead to locate the enemy, accompanied by Captain Wyndham's troop. Meanwhile Churchill rushed north with the rest of the brigade. Finding that the Whigs had left Pensford, Oglethorpe feared an attack was underway, but once he came within sight of the city, it was clearly still in Government hands. Oglethorpe turned east and took his patrol along the southern bank of the River Avon reaching

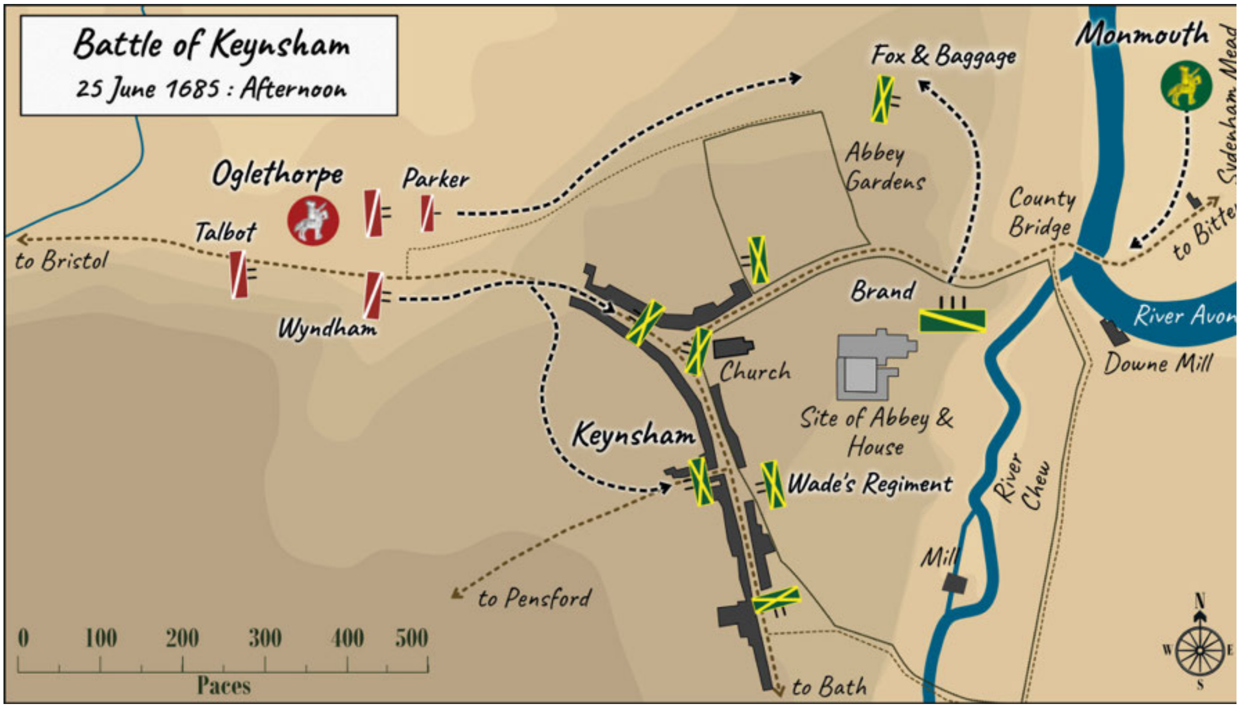
Keynsham. This experienced officer could see the Whig rearguard and sent Captain Parker forwards with his horse grenadiers to estimate strengths.

Whig Deployment

Over the course of following day, Monmouth slowly moved his men over the bridge and deployed them into a line of battle on Sydenham Mead. However, the damage to the bridge delayed the army's movement as it was proving hard to get the train of artillery across with its heavy wagons. As the day slipped away, the rearguard and most of the baggage remained in Somerset. As it was raining heavily, Monmouth ordered Major Wade with the vanguard to recross the river, take on provisions and make ready for a night attack. Wade secured billets in the town and his men started preparing a long-anticipated meal.

The Battle

The elite cavalry of the English army hit the men of the Yellow Regiment without discharging pistols. In the uneven fighting that followed, a score of the Whig soldiers including Major Fox were killed or wounded. However, the covering squadron of Whig cavalry under Captain Brand witnessed the attack unfold and launched a counter-attack. The outnumbered horse grenadiers risked being overwhelmed, but Oglethorpe had seen the Whig cavalry movement and ordered Captain Wyndham into the engagement. The captain had orders to secure Parker's line of retreat. However, Wyndham lost sight of the combat and turned towards the town, rather than toward the melee. Once more Oglethorpe could see the mistake and led his own personal troop of lifeguards into the unfolding battle.



Battle of Keynsham
25 June 1685 : Afternoon
Oglethorpe
Parker
Talbot
Wyndham
to Bristol
Fox & Baggage
Abbey Gardens
Monmouth
Sidenham Mead
County Bridge
to Bitte
Brand
River Avon
Downe Mill
Church
Site of Abbey & House
Keynsham
Wade's Regiment
River Chew
Mill
to Pensford
to Bath
0 100 200 300 400 500
Paces
N
W
E
S

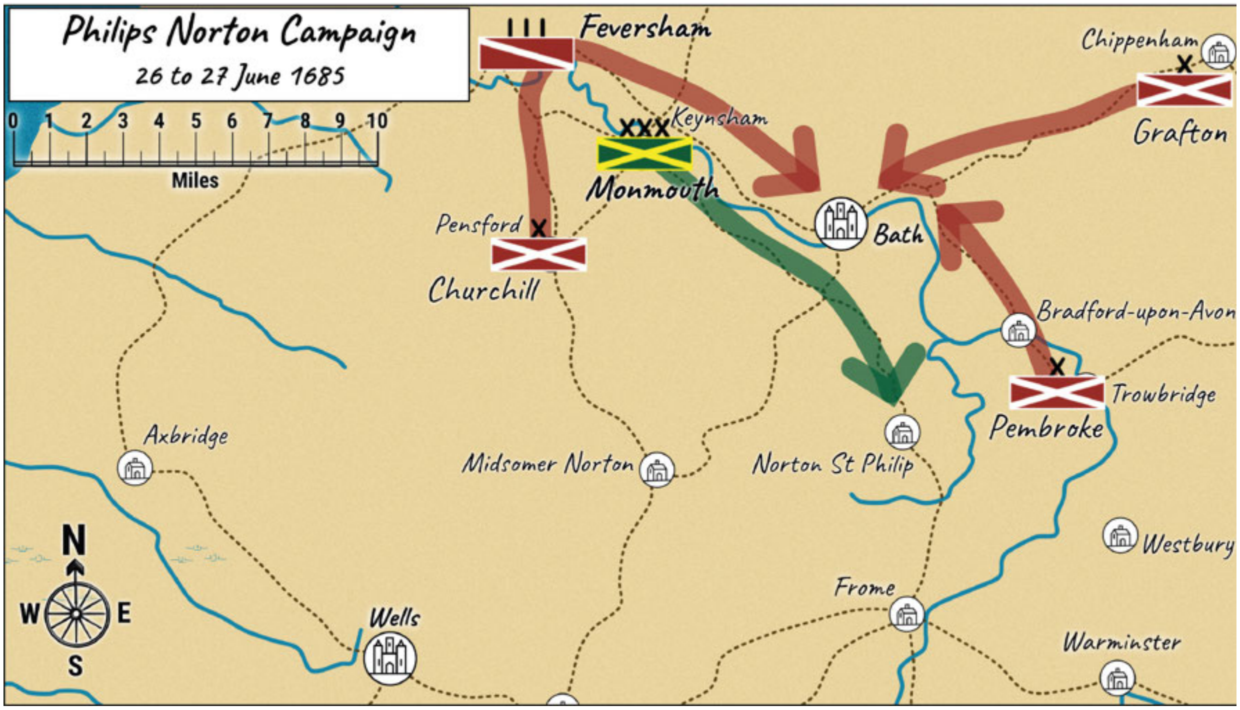
With the alarm raised in Keynsham, Major Wade placed pike blocks in the lanes that led into the town. Then his musketeers moved into the buildings that overlooked the lanes where the pikes were deployed. The effect was devastating and Wyndham's troops fell into the trap. After finding the main road blocked, the cavalry officer ordered his men to outflank the position to the right. However, they hit the same defensive positions and each attack was easily repulsed at the point of the pike and through overwhelming musket fire, while the narrow lanes made any organised return fire impossible.

While Wyndham's troopers attempted the ridiculous task of breaking stands of pike, Oglethorpe's gentlemen cut their way through to the surrounded horse grenadiers. Brand's raw troops were assailed by the best horsemen in the country and under such pressure they pulled back, leaving their captain dead on the ground. Oglethorpe saw his opportunity and withdrew his troops from the fight. As the lifeguards and horse grenadiers galloped back to the reserves under Captain Talbot, the broken troopers of Wyndham's command joined them. As Monmouth and his cavalry reinforcements arrived, all they could do was watch Oglethorpe's troopers head back to Bristol.

Aftermath

Three separate events took place on 25 June and these resulted in two victories and one defeat for the Whigs. However, none of these had any real impact on the campaign, it was the decision to attack Bristol that changed the course of the conflict. Clearly, on 23 June, Monmouth's intelligence was wrong or corrupted. While in Whitehall, King James bet everything on the Whigs attacking Bristol, rather than marching on London. Based on the Government dispositions, if Monmouth had pushed on to London, gathering up more and more men, he would have faced an open road. Alternatively, if he had attacked the southern approach to the city and won, the campaign may have ended differently. Instead, he took the advice of his officers and tried to cross at Keynsham.

Night March


Philips Norton Campaign
26 to 27 June 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
III
Feversham
Chippenham
Grafton
XXX
Keynsham
Monmouth
Pensford
Churchill
Bath
Bradford-upon-Avon
Trowbridge
Pembroke
Axbridge
Midsomer Norton
Norton St Philip
Westbury
N
W
E
S
Frome
Wells
Warminster

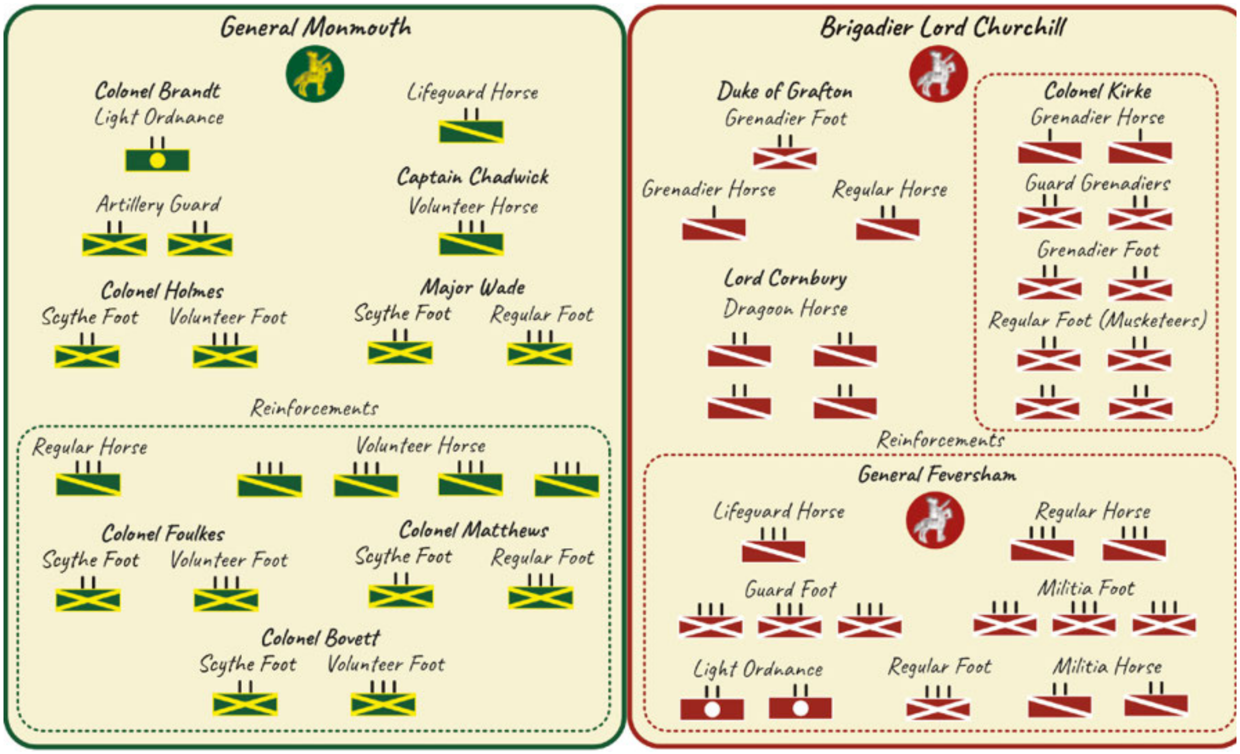
After the battle of Keynsham bridge, Adlam arrived. He gave an account of the Frome uprising and how thousands of Whigs were waiting for Monmouth. This may have influenced the council of war who were deliberating their next action. They had three options. The first was to continue with a night attack on Bristol, knowing that an enemy force was in their rear. The second option was to cross the Avon and march north towards Gloucester, Worcester and Chester. The third choice was to march east to Frome and then press on to London. After some debate, that night they move east, leaving the Red Regiment as the rearguard.

Meanwhile in Bristol, Feversham received Oglethorpe's account of the Whigs' positions. Expecting an attack that night, the General redeployed to the east of the city. The following afternoon there was still no sign of the Whigs, instead a panicked messenger arrived from Bath. The Whigs had summoned the city to surrender. As Feversham rushed east, every Government force was ordered to join him at Bath. The city must not fall.

27 June 1685 – Battle of Norton St Philip (or Philip Norton)

Objective

The Government vanguard under Churchill has orders to attack and break the Whig rearguard. To win, Churchill must seize the centre of the town. The Whigs need to hold the barricade and push the Government forces back towards Bath.


General Monmouth
Colonel Brandt
Light Ordnance
Lifeguard Horse
Captain Chadwick
Volunteer Horse
Artillery Guard
Colonel Holmes
Scythe Foot
Volunteer Foot
Major Wade
Scythe Foot
Regular Foot
Reinforcements
Regular Horse
Volunteer Horse
Colonel Foulkes
Scythe Foot
Volunteer Foot
Colonel Matthews
Scythe Foot
Regular Foot
Colonel Bovett
Scythe Foot
Volunteer Foot
Brigadier Lord Churchill
Duke of Grafton
Grenadier Foot
Grenadier Horse
Regular Horse
Lord Cornbury
Dragoon Horse
Colonel Kirke
Grenadier Horse
Guard Grenadiers
Grenadier Foot
Regular Foot (Musketeers)
Reinforcements
General Feversham
Lifeguard Horse
Regular Horse
Guard Foot
Militia Foot
Light Ordnance
Regular Foot
Militia Horse

Whig Deployment

After the encounter at Keynsham, Monmouth’s army marched overnight and through the following day to the town of Norton St Philip. On route, the army’s rearguard covered the city of Bath and out of bravado called for the surrender of the Government stronghold. The vanguard also encountered two battalions of Wiltshire militia, which were pushed away.

In the hope of out-manoeuvring the Government army, Monmouth’s plan was to march to Frome and then onto Warminster. After days of heavy rain, the soldiers were thankful for a dry day and the infantry set up bivouacs in the fields around the church at Norton St Philip. While the cavalry was being billeted in the town, Monmouth established his headquarters in the George Inn, with the light artillery outside. Aware of the threat of a surprise attack, the Red Regiment was deployed and Wade placed the bulk of his battalion in an old manor house and set up a barricade across the main road from Bath.

After a peaceful night, only disturbed by a possible assassination attempt on Monmouth, the army started to march to Frome. The Red Regiment was acting as the rearguard, supported by the light cannons, the artillery company, Chadwick’s squadron of horse and Monmouth’s own Lifeguard troop. By midday, the vanguard, the main body and the bulk of the baggage were on the road. Colonel Holmes’ battalion was formed up and ready to march from the church field, when the first shots sounded.

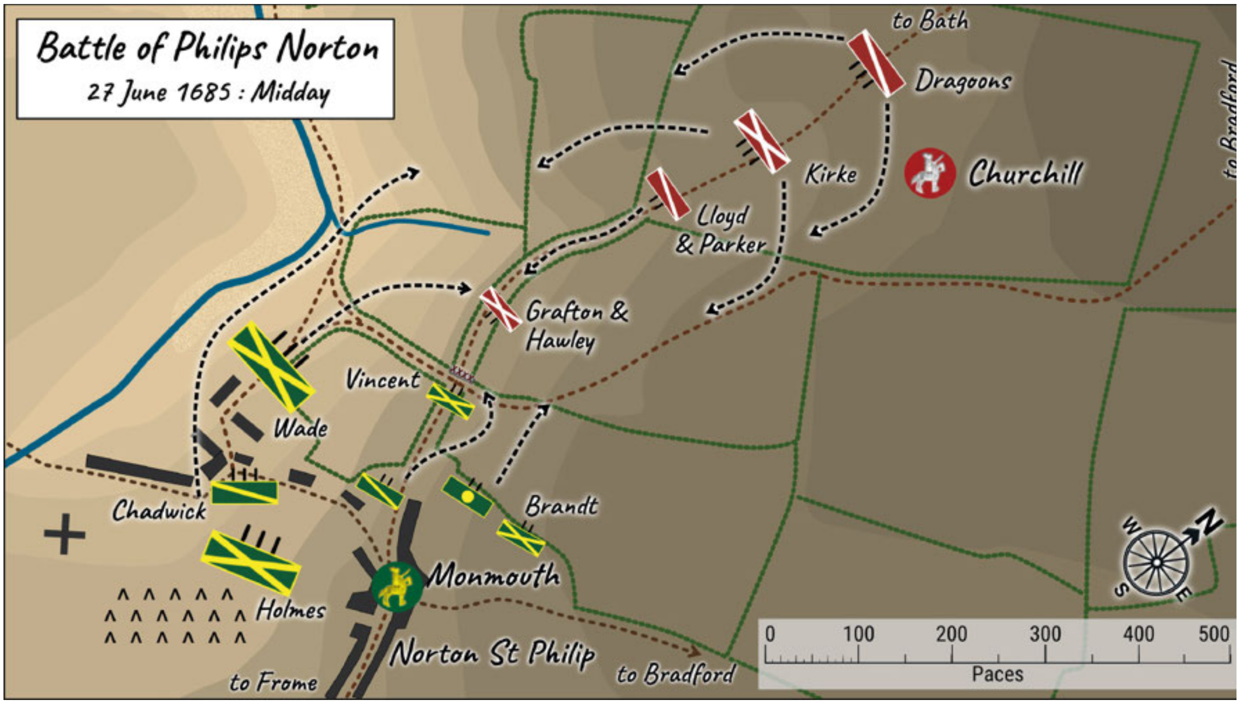
Government Deployment

On the night of 26 June, Feversham was joined in Bath by the bulk of his army. The first units to arrive were the Footguards battalions under Grafton and then later in the day, Churchill arrived with his brigade. His force had been on the same roads as the Whigs and had hanged the wounded enemy soldiers found at Keynsham. With the arrival of Pembroke and his Wiltshire militia, Feversham learnt that Monmouth was at Norton St Philip.

After convening a council of war, Feversham elected to attack the Whigs the following morning. The vanguard was placed under the command of Churchill. This contained the Horse Grenadiers, four troops of dragoons, five grenadier companies and the musketeers from Kirke's and Trelawny's battalions. Captain Lloyd had been sent ahead with his troop to locate the enemy and bring back news of any defences.

As the vanguard advanced, Captain Lloyd returned with the news that Monmouth's army was starting to march off, but that his men had not encountered any defences. With this news, the vanguard pushed forward in the hope that they could catch the Whigs in disorder. Feversham immediately sent Lloyd back towards the town with orders to locate the enemy. Grafton, with Captain Hawley's grenadier company, marched off in support of Lloyd. At around midday, the cavalry stumbled into Captain Vincent's company manning the barricade across the road.

The Bloody Lane


Battle of Philips Norton
27 June 1685 : Midday
to Bath
Dragoons
Kirke
Churchill
Lloyd & Parker
Grafton & Hawley
Vincent
Wade
Chadwick
Brandt
Holmes
Monmouth
Norton St Philip
to Frome
to Bradford
to Bradford
W
N
S
E
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces

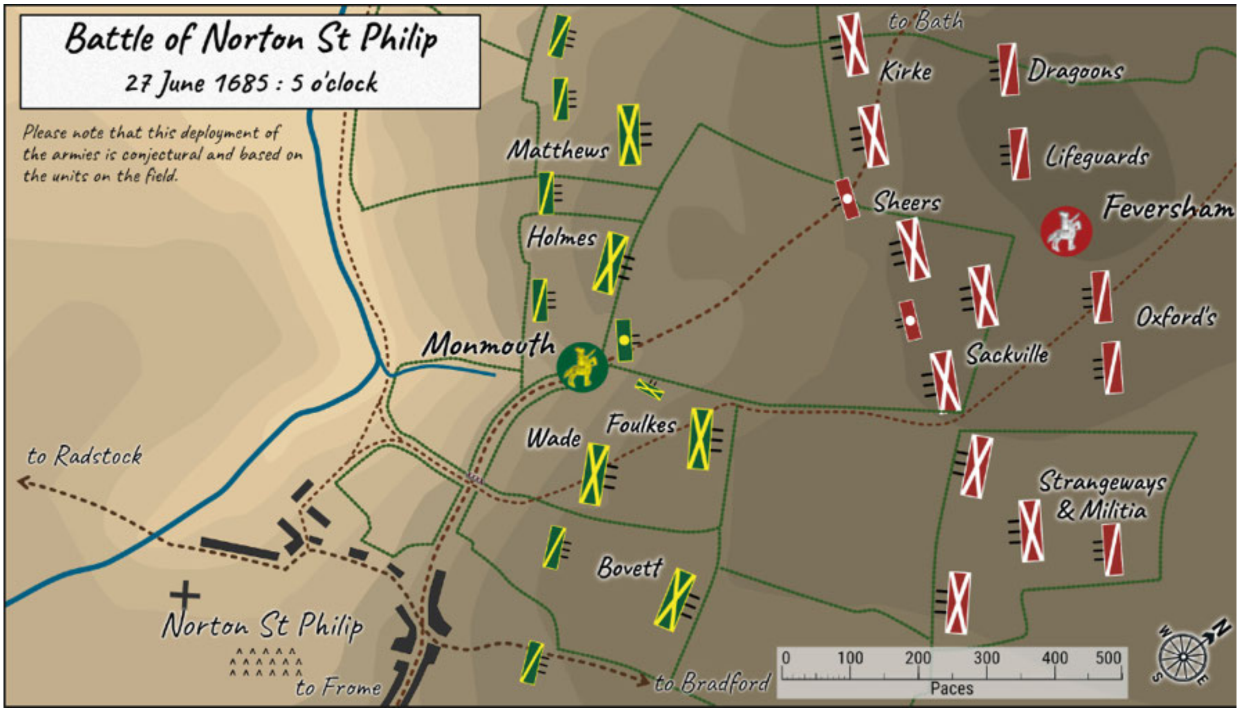
Captain Lloyd and his men were quickly repulsed, but the volley fire alerted Monmouth and the rearguard to the danger. However, the Government forces were not so well prepared and Churchill sent Grafton and his grenadiers down the lane to clear the barricade and hit the rear of the Whig army. Under heavy fire, the grenadiers stormed the barricade and pushed Vincent's company back down the lane, only to find themselves swiftly counter-attacked by horse and then by companies from the Red Regiment on their right flank. Within moments Grafton was unhorsed and his men were fighting for survival.

Captain Lloyd returned with the horse grenadiers and vicious combat started in the lane and in the hedgerows. To outflank the Whigs and relieve pressure on the trapped grenadiers, Churchill deployed his combined brigade of musketeers and grenadiers on either side of the lane. At first, this downhill counterattack checked Wade and his battalion, forcing his men to disengage and wheel to face a new threat. This gave Grafton enough time to remount and cut his way free of the bloody lane. On the left flank, the combined brigade was stopped by Monmouth with two light artillery pieces, supported by the artillery guard company. On the other side of the lane, the attack stalled and was forced back up the hill by the arrival of Colonel Holmes and his Green Regiment, who moved to outflank the musketeers.

The fighting in the Bloody Lane outside Norton St. Philip showing Wade's Regiment getting the upper hand. (From multiple collections)

To cover the retreat of both his musketeers and the grenadiers, Churchill ordered his dragoons to dismount and line the hedges at the top of the lane and on both flanks. With their left flank covered by the artillery and a light artillery piece now firing up the lane, the Red and Green Regiments pushed on up the hill. The fighting was heavy as the Whigs assaulted each hedgerow under fire. Slowly, they gained the upper hand as their numbers started to tell. Supported by Captain Chadwick's squadron of horse, they pressed home the attack against the dragoons holding the last hedgerow.

The Stand-off


Battle of Norton St Philip
27 June 1685 : 5 o'clock
Please note that this deployment of the armies is conjectural and based on the units on the field.
to Bath
Kirke
Dragoons
Matthews
Lifeguards
Sheers
Feversham
Holmes
Oxford's
Monmouth
Sackville
Wade
Foulkes
to Radstock
Strangeways & Militia
Bovett
Norton St Philip
to Frome
to Bradford
0
100
200
300
400
500
Paces
N
E
S
W

Behind Churchill's embattled men, Feversham had drawn up the army in a line of battle facing down the hill. With the Lifeguards and Oxford Blues deployed to cover their retreat, the dragoons, broken grenadiers and musketeers fled back to safety. However, Monmouth’s men were exhausted, but in strong positions facing the enemy. As more and more of Monmouth’s army joined the battle line, neither side wished to risk an all-out attack. Slowly the battle turned into an artillery duel between Monmouth’s four pieces and Feversham’s eight guns. After an hour, the rain started and Feversham elected to withdraw his beaten army from the field and marched to Bradford-upon-Avon. He left well over 150 dead behind. The victory was bittersweet for Monmouth’s soldiers; they had defeated the enemy, but had to stand and watch them retreat in heavy rain. With the battlefield secured, Monmouth resumed the march to Frome, but it wasn’t until the early hours of the following day that Wades’ Red Regiment entered their quarters.

The Whig Army pushes Lord Churchill vanguard up the hill at Norton St Philip. (From multiple collections)

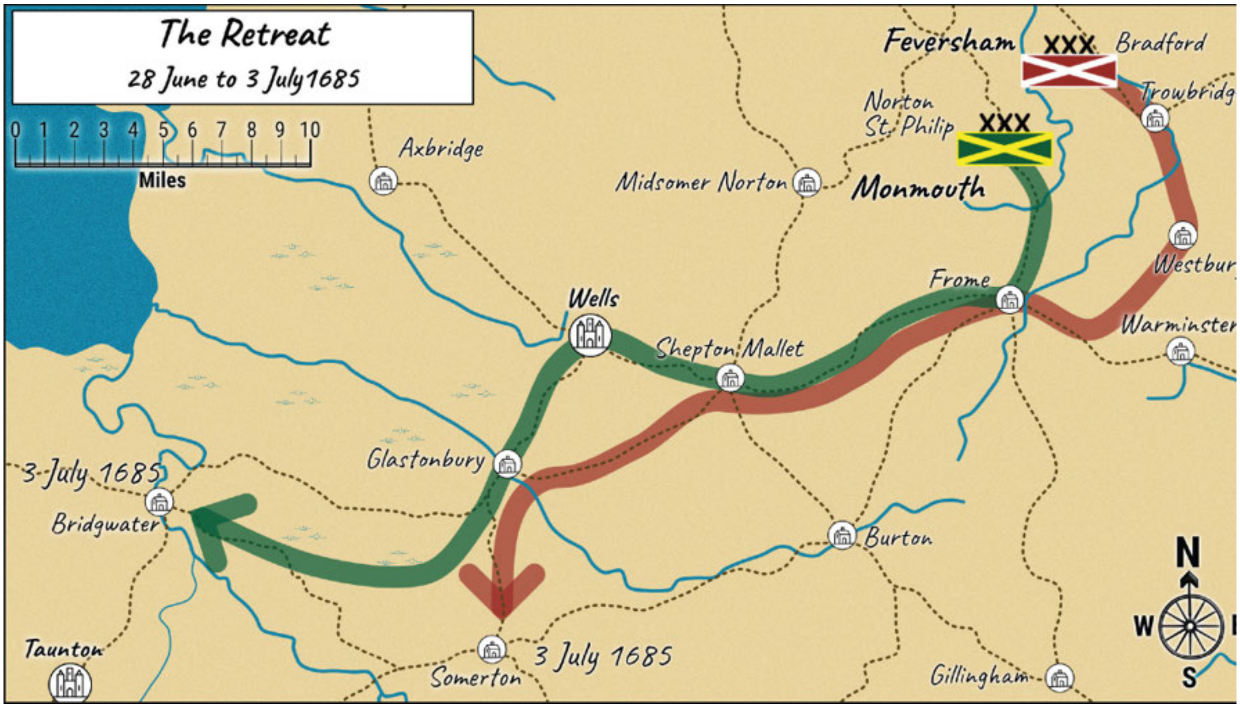
Aftermath

The battle of Norton St Philip was a rude awakening for Feversham and the whole Government army. It demonstrated that the Whigs could and would fight and that it wouldn't be easy to defeat them. Feversham now rethought his strategy and took a more defensive approach to the campaign, realising that his only chance of victory was to block the road to London and slowly back the enemy into a corner. However, until he had tents for his infantry, he could not risk quartering in a town within a day's march of Monmouth.

The battle hinged on Monmouth's foot and especially the Red Regiment's ability to hold and counter-attack. If Vincent's company had fled on first contact with Lloyd's horse or ran at the sight of Hawley's grenadiers, the battle would have been quickly lost. If Lloyd had attacked an hour earlier, then Churchill would have faced four of Monmouth's regiments rather than just two. An hour later, Lloyd may have hit Vincent's men as they were retreating. At the end of the battle, both sides faced each other with bigger armies than at Sedgemoor.

28 to 30 June 1685 – Monmouth's Withdrawal

After the battle both sides re-grouped. Monmouth's army rested at Frome for two days, while Feversham moved to Trowbridge. In the Whig camp, the full news of Argyll's defeat had arrived, along with King James' General Pardon. This allowed the Whig soldiers to leave and on the presentation of the pardon they would not be punished. However, all officers from Holland and anyone that did not take up the pardon would be tried for high treason. The final straw was the realisation that they only had three days of provisions left for the army. They were also running short of ammunition for one of the light artillery pieces.


The Retreat
28 June to 3 July 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Axbridge
Midsomer Norton
Feversham
XXX
Bradford
Trowbridg
Norton St. Philip
XXX
Monmouth
Frome
Westbur
Warminster
Wells
Shepton Mallet
Glastonbury
3 July 1685
Bridgwater
Burton
Taunton
Somerton
3 July 1685
Gillingham
N
W
S

This caused a split in the Whig council of war, as Venner and several other officers argued that all was lost and that Monmouth should flee with the horse, leaving the infantry to their fate. Monmouth slipped into a state of melancholy and this only divided the council of war even further. It was Lord Grey who now demonstrated leadership and rallied Monmouth. He contended that to leave the army now would destroy the Whig movement forever, that they could still win, London was only a week's march away, but they needed to move. Finally, on 29 June Monmouth sided with Lord Grey and the bulk of the council agreed to continue the fight. They would march to Warminster the next day. That night Venner and several of the other officers slipped away from the army and Colonel Speke's squadron never returned from its patrol.

What if the pardon was not published? Every day after Monmouth is proclaimed King, the result of an outcome draw will determine if the pardon is published, stopping new Whig recruitment.

On 29 June, Feversham moved his army to Westbury and was joined by the Tower Artillery Train. This brought the much-needed tents, but only for the Guards' brigade and the Royal Scots and not the 900 soldiers of Churchill's brigade. These were still on the road west from London. That night, Oglethorpe returned with intelligence that Monmouth was about to move east to Warminster. The following morning Feversham sent out his dragoons to secure the defiles into the town and marched his army out of Westbury.

On 30 June, the Earl of Arran arrived in Chester with two battalions of Irish foot, while the Scots Brigade disembarked in Gravesend and marched into London the next day.

What if Mackay turned his coat and sided with Monmouth? The impact would be massive, the London Mob would rise and the Government forced to fight in the streets of London. Would Feversham be ordered back to the capital?

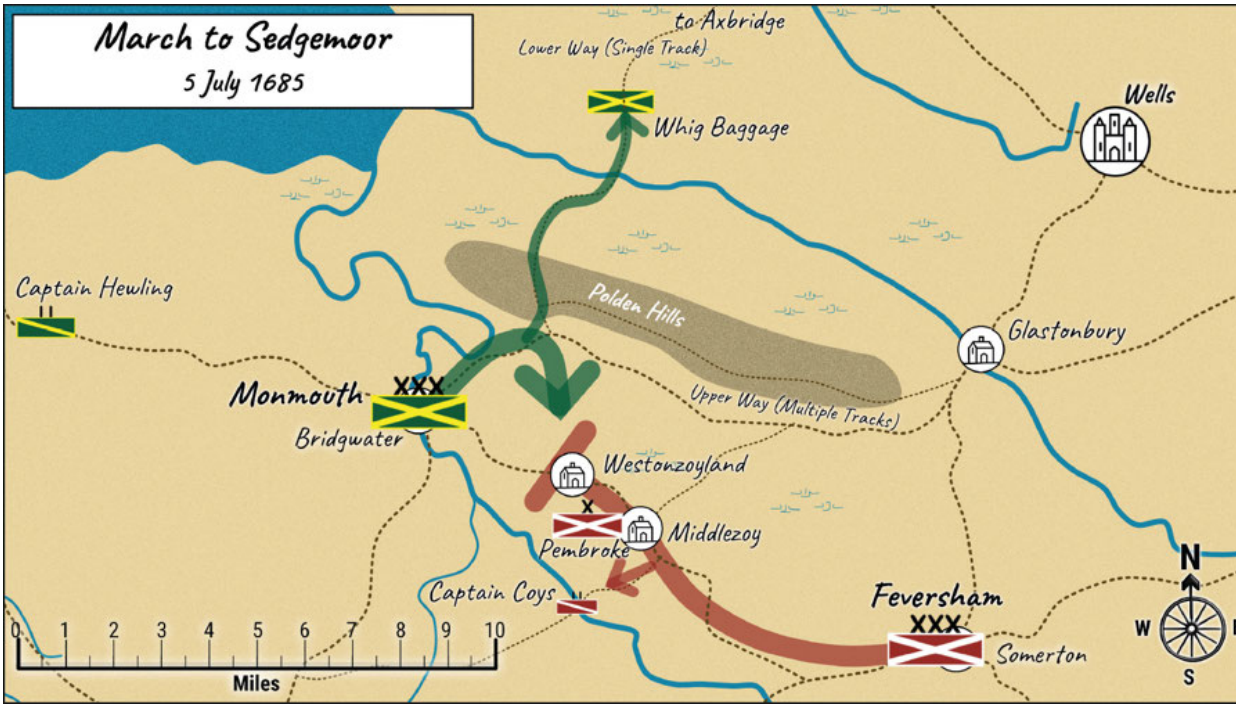
1 to 3 July 1685 – Withdrawal to Bridgwater

Monmouth's vanguard started marching to Warminster, but the scouts soon returned with reports that all the crossings over Redford Water were held by Government dragoons. Furthermore, a large Government force was reported marching from Westbury. Monmouth ordered his vanguard to withdraw back to Frome, while the rearguard and the baggage started marching to Shepton Mallet. In turn they were followed by the main body and vanguard. Feversham followed the Whigs and entered Frome, posting the Wiltshire militia in Nunney and Mells.

Monmouth's next move was to march to Wells and while his scouts searched for new roads east, his men were let lose to pillage the pro-King James city. That night with the enemy blocking the London Roads and no more supplies, Monmouth ordered a retreat to Bridgwater. Here he hoped to use his popular support to resupply and then outwit his foe. The Government army stayed at Frome until more tents arrived and it was clear Monmouth was retreating. The inexperienced Churchill complained of inaction, but Feversham was in no rush to engage the Whigs. With Monmouth safely in Bridgwater, Feversham moved to Somerton via Shepton Mallet. On the night of 3 July, his infantry and gunners slept under canvas for the first time.

Battle of Sedgemoor

4 & 5 July – The Final Moves


March to Sedgemoor
5 July 1685
to Axbridge
Lower Way (Single Track)
Whig Baggage
Wells
Captain Hewling
Polden Hills
Glastonbury
Monmouth
XXX
Bridgwater
Upper Way (Multiple Tracks)
Westonzoyland
X
Middlezoy
Pembroke
Captain Coys
Feversham
XXX
Somerton
N
W
S
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles

Feversham Attacks

With his infantry now under canvas, on 4 July Feversham felt able to attack the Whig army at Bridgwater. With a strong party of cavalry, he scouted the ground to the south and east of the town and selected Middlezoy as the best location for a camp. That night Pembroke was ordered to garrison the village with his militia.

On the morning of 5 July, the adjutant general decided that the Middlezoy location was not suitable and selected the ridgeline to the north of Westonzoyland for the camp. After Feversham approved the selection, he posted troops covering all the lanes leading from Bridgwater. Over the course of the day the Government foot arrived and started setting up the encampment.

The infantry would be camped at the base of the ridge facing the wide-open moor, on the right was Douglas' battalion, then came the two battalions of the First Foot Guards and next to these were the Coldstream guards. The last formation on the left of the line was the combined brigade of Colonel Kirke. To the left and over the ridge was the artillery park and this covered the main road from Bridgwater. Finally, covering the left flank and the road, was the combined Grenadier companies under Lieutenant Colonel Churchill. That night, under the guidance of the major general, the camp's main guard was set along the line of the muddy ditch that covered the army. This was called the Bussex Rhyne.

Whigs Prepare for Battle

On 4 July it became clear that Feversham was planning to advance and that evening Monmouth let his local men return home to see their families. With the Government army closing in, Monmouth's plan was to breakout and head to Bristol and he issued orders for the army to muster on the south side of the River Parrett on 5 July. However, as the baggage train crossed the only bridge, reports came in that the enemy had been seen three miles away.

Leaving the army to make its way across the river to form up, Monmouth and some of his senior officers climbed the steeple of St Mary’s church in the centre of Bridgwater. As they watched they could see the enemy cavalry patrols, but over the next hour the infantry arrived and started setting up their camp. Aware of the ground, Monmouth then sent out scouts to see if the Government army was fortifying their position.

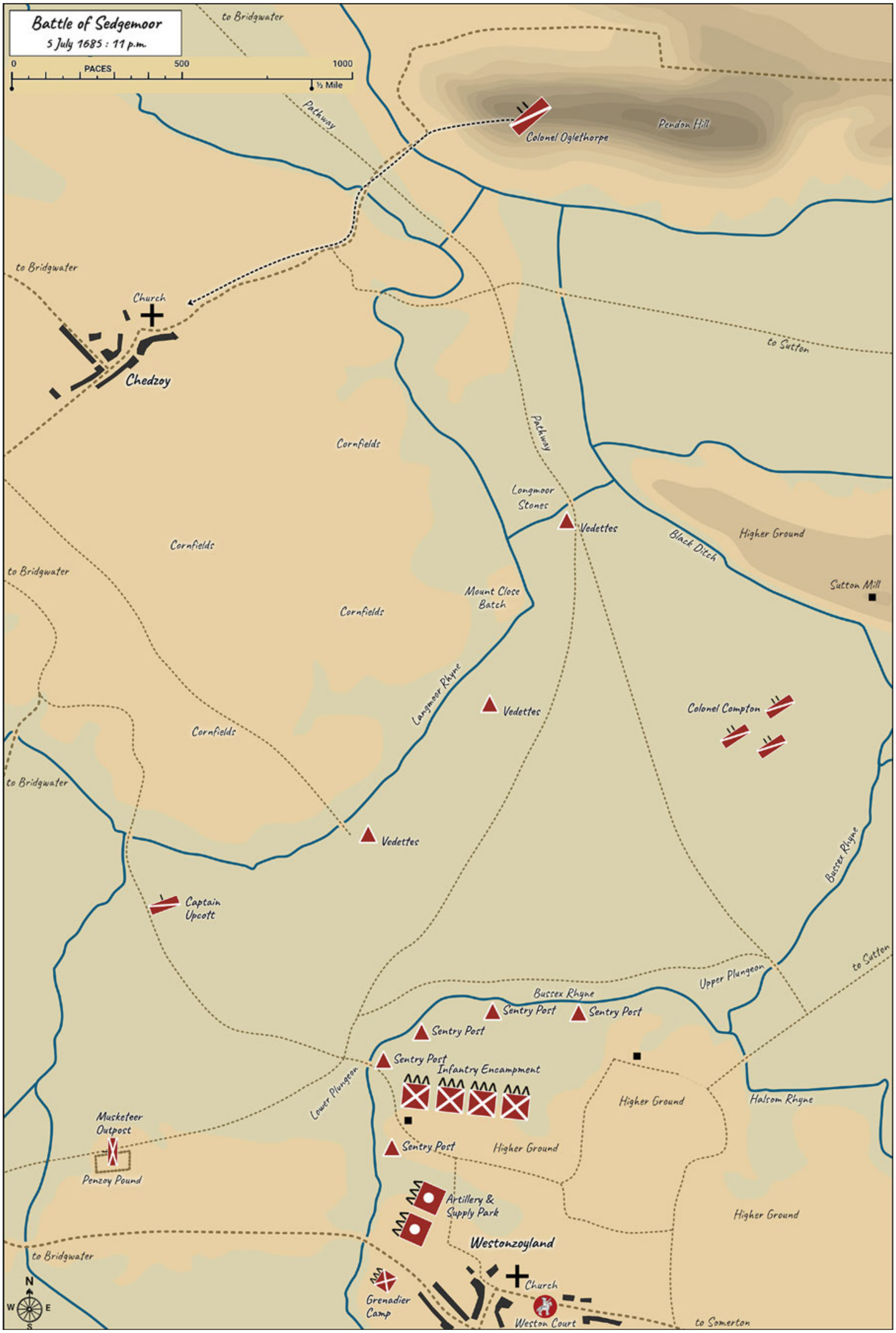
With the enemy so close, Monmouth recognised that it would be dangerous to move during the day. Therefore, he gave orders for the march to be delayed until that evening. The Whig spies then returned and confirmed that no earthworks were being dug around the Government camp. After meeting his officers, Monmouth now elected to attack the Government army. He ordered the infantry to construct portable bridges to allow them to cross the waterways that covered the approaches to enemy camp.

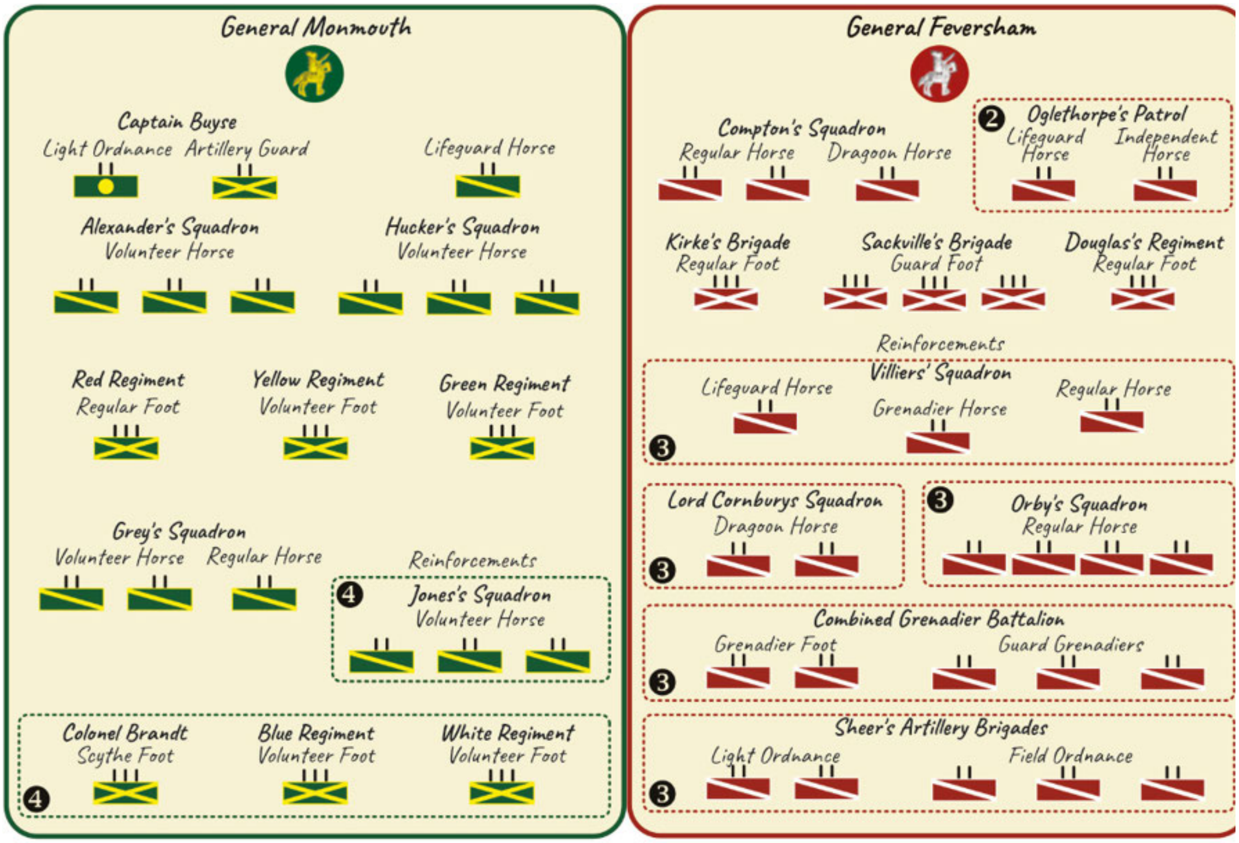
Before leaving Bridgwater, Monmouth arranged his battalions into an order of march. This reflected the plans agreed with the army council. The baggage train with its guard and a screen of cavalry was detached from the army. This was to march north via the Lower Way towards Bristol. Then came the vanguard which included the light artillery and the infantry battalions of Wade, Matthews and Holmes. The second infantry line was to be composed of Brandt, Bovett and Foulkes. With the horse covering the front and rear of the army.

Monmouth’s Battle Plan

Monmouth had two possible plans of attack. The first was for a general engagement with his cavalry sweeping around the

Government’s open right flank, hitting the camp and rear of the enemy army, while his foot assaulted the infantry camp. However, this does not reflect his initial orders for the infantry not to cross the last ditch, nor for the baggage being dispatched north in a separate column. Therefore, the second and more likely plan was for his horse to attack the camp, having its retreat covered by the infantry. The horse would cross via the Upper Plungeon and sweep right to left across the camp and then exit via the Lower Plungeon. The infantry would then cover the retreat. This attack would have destroyed or broken the Government army, clearing the road to London or Bristol.


Battle of Sedgemoor
5 July 1685 : 11 p.m.
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile
to Bridgwater
Pathway
Colonel Oglethorpe
Pendon Hill
to Bridgwater
Church
Chedzoy
to Sutton
Pathway
Cornfields
Longmoor Stones
Vedettes
Black Ditch
Higher Ground
Cornfields
to Bridgwater
Mount Close Batch
Cornfields
Sutton Mill
Langmoor Rhyne
Vedettes
Colonel Compton
Cornfields
to Bridgwater
Vedettes
Bussex Rhyne
Captain Upcott
to Sutton
Upper Plungeon
Bussex Rhyne
Sentry Post
Sentry Post
Sentry Post
Sentry Post
Infantry Encampment
Lower Plungeon
Higher Ground
Halsom Rhyne
Musketeer Outpost
Sentry Post
Higher Ground
Penzoy Pound
Artillery & Supply Park
Higher Ground
Westonzoyland
to Bridgwater
N
W
E
S
Grenadier Camp
Church
Weston Court
to Somerton


General Monmouth
Captain Buyse
Light Ordnance
Artillery Guard
Lifeguard Horse
Alexander's Squadron
Volunteer Horse
Hucker's Squadron
Volunteer Horse
Red Regiment
Regular Foot
Yellow Regiment
Volunteer Foot
Green Regiment
Volunteer Foot
Grey's Squadron
Volunteer Horse
Regular Horse
Reinforcements
4
Jones's Squadron
Volunteer Horse
Colonel Brandt
Scythe Foot
Blue Regiment
Volunteer Foot
White Regiment
Volunteer Foot
4
General Feversham
Compton's Squadron
Regular Horse
Dragoon Horse
2
Oglethorpe's Patrol
Lifeguard Horse
Independent Horse
Kirke's Brigade
Regular Foot
Sackville's Brigade
Guard Foot
Douglas's Regiment
Regular Foot
Reinforcements
Lifeguard Horse
Villiers' Squadron
Grenadier Horse
Regular Horse
3
Lord Cornburys Squadron
Dragoon Horse
3
3
Orby's Squadron
Regular Horse
Combined Grenadier Battalion
Grenadier Foot
Guard Grenadiers
3
Sheer's Artillery Brigades
Light Ordnance
Field Ordnance
3

6 July 1685

1:30 a.m. Surprise Attack

Objectives

The Whigs need to cross the last ditch at the Longmoor Stones and break through the Government's greater guard under Colonel Compton. The outcome of this fight will decide which King would reign in Whitehall. For the Government player to win, they must break the Whig cavalry and seize their artillery. For the Whigs, they must hit and break the Government horse, then advance to the Upper Plungeon, hard on the heels of any warning messengers.

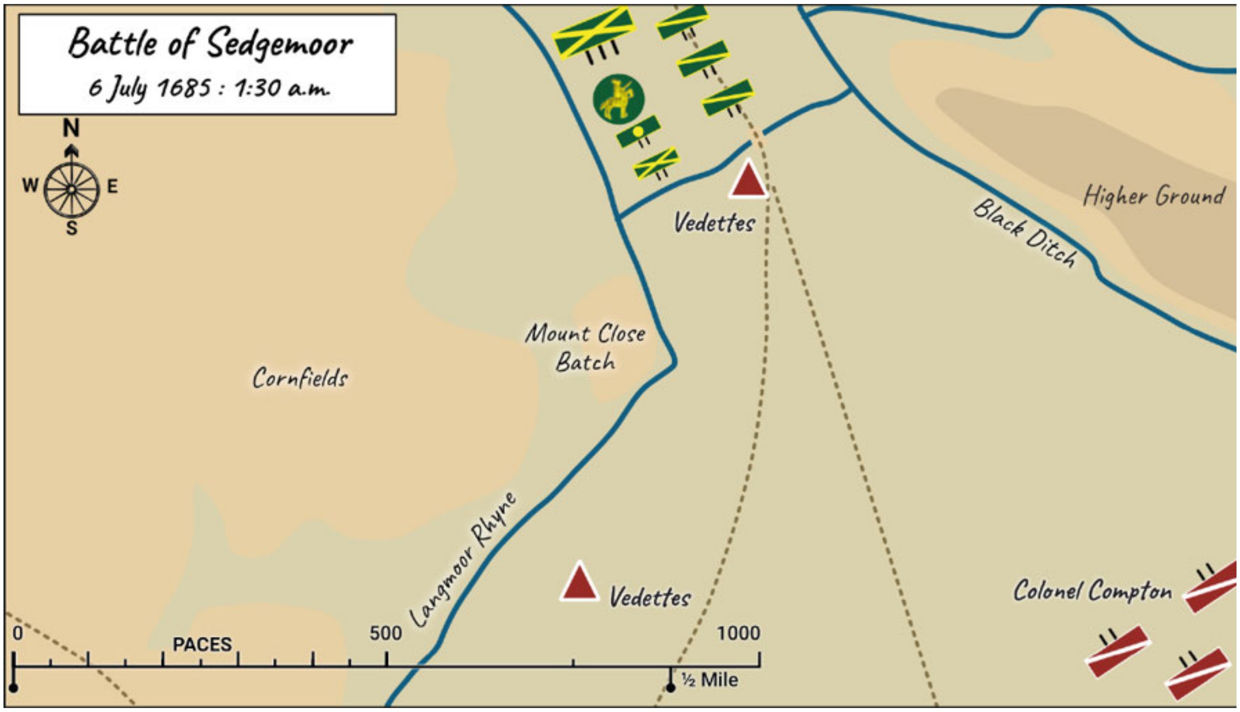
Government Deployment

In the evening, Feversham strengthened the greater guard with additional troops. This was now composed of Lieutenant Colonel Compton's squadron holding the farright flank and watching the lane from Bawdrip. Captain Upcott with a troop of the Second Lifeguards covered the Lower Way from Bridgwater and in a farm compound on the main road was a detached company of musketeers from Trelawny's regiment. Feversham then sent Lieutenant Colonel Oglethorpe out with a flying patrol to watch the roads going from Bridgwater to Bristol. At around one o'clock on the morning of 6 July, after inspecting the greater and main guards and receiving a message from Oglethorpe that there was no sign of Monmouth, Feversham retired to bed.

Whig Deployment

At 7 o'clock in the evening, the army was formed up on the Westonzoyland side of the River Parrot. Then at about 10 o'clock, the baggage moved off, with the infantry marching about an hour later. On reaching the lane that led across Sedgemoor to Westonzoyland, the army halted. The squadrons of horse would use the lane and its fords to move onto the moor. Meanwhile the artillery and infantry used the small portable bridges to cross the many watercourses.

The Action


Battle of Sedgemoor
6 July 1685 : 1:30 a.m.
N
W
E
S
Vedettes
Higher Ground
Black Ditch
Mount Close
Batch
Cornfields
Langmoor Rhyne
Vedettes
Colonel Compton
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile

As the Whig cavalry approached the crossing over the Langmoor Rhyne, they were spotted by the vedettes from Compton’s squadron on the right flank. After sending a warning back to the camp, Compton moved forward to engage the enemy. The leading Whig squadron under Captain Hucker crossed the defile in column, but as it moved forwards, Compton’s troopers discharged their pistols and charged home with cold steel. In the ensuing melee, the Government forces broke the Whigs. The broken Whig horsemen fled into the second squadron, which was still crossing the defile and re-forming. However, in the action Compton was wounded and Captain Sandys took command. Seeing more enemy approaching, he ordered the Government cavalry to withdraw.

In the chaos, the Whig column became disordered as the routing troopers fled back to Bridgwater. This early engagement forced Monmouth to order his leading infantry battalions and the light artillery to quicken their pace across the open fields. This is his only chance, as the drums start to beat rousing the encampment. Behind him his remaining infantry and cavalry are still struggling to reform. Eventually Lord Grey and Colonel Brandt pull the troops together. Lord Grey takes a couple of troops of horse across the moor toward the Upper Plungeon. However, the artillery train has been abandoned and Grey has lost his guide.

Colonel Compton's squadron guarding the entrance into the great Sedgemoor. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Aftermath

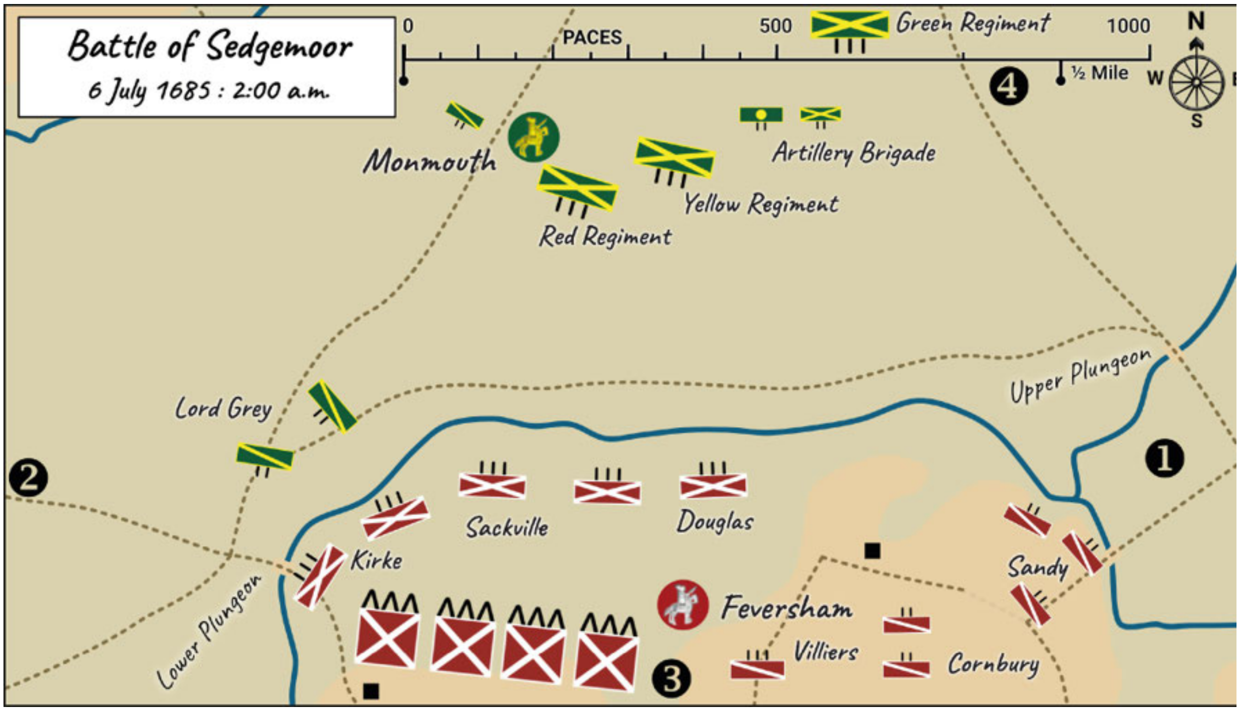
While the Whigs advance across the wide Sedgemoor, with about 30 minutes notice, the Government infantry form up in battle order. As a result, they were ready in time to fire at Lord Grey's cavalry as they galloped past on the other side of the Bussex Rhyne. Lord Grey had missed the Upper Plungeon and his small force of cavalry followed the Bussex Rhyne round to the Lower Plungeon to engage Kirke's brigade. Meanwhile, Monmouth had deployed his first line and moved forward against the Government battalions. Feversham arrived on the battlefield with the leading elements of the cavalry.

2:00 a.m. Strike Hard & Fast

Objective

With the drums beating in the camp, the Whigs need to strike hard and fast. Monmouth must change his plans and set a fast pace as the army moves over the moor. This is causing disorder and the Whigs will need to redress or form up before pressing home the attack. Then Monmouth must lead from the front and prevent the units becoming bogged down in a firefight. With Lord Grey near the Lower Plungeon, there is still hope for a breakthrough.

For the Government player, if Compton's guard did their job, then the battalions are in formation and waiting for the Whigs. If not, then they will still be drawing up when the remaining enemy squadrons arrive at point (1) on the map. For the Whigs to win this phase they must get soldiers across the Bussex Rhyne. For the Government army, it is simple; hold until daylight.


Battle of Sedgemoor
6 July 1685 : 2:00 a.m.
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile
N
W
S
Green Regiment
4
Artillery Brigade
Monmouth
Yellow Regiment
Red Regiment
Upper Plungeon
Lord Grey
1
2
Sackville
Douglas
Kirke
Sandy
Lower Plungeon
Feversham
Villiers
Cornbury
3

Firefight

Unfortunately for Lord Grey, he found the Lower Plungeon guarded by Kirke's command. Then while his troopers attempt to breakthrough Kirke's men, Oglethorpe arrived with his flying patrol, together with Captain Upcott's men, at point (2). Under a renewed assault by both foot and horse, Lord Grey's cavalry routs. In the centre, Monmouth's infantry presses forward, but Colonel Matthews, possibly due to poor communication, stops, dresses his ranks and opens fire. This forces Monmouth, who is leading his battalion on the right wing, to pull up. The Red Regiment cannot attack alone and he orders them to start firing by ranks. Monmouth's attack has ground to a halt. Even though Monmouth dismounted and led from the front he cannot get the infantry line to cross the Bussex Rhyne. The two opposing battle lines are overlapping as Buyse's artillery and then Holmes' regiment extend the Whig line to the left.

The Earl of Feversham could see that the two battalions of the First Foot Guards and the Royal Scots were covering the line. However, with the Whig artillery and a new battalion arriving, he saw that there was a risk of his right being overlapped. Feversham ordered Lord Cornbury's dragoons to advance and hold the right flank and then ordered Sackville to move the Coldstream Guards to the right to reinforce Cornbury's men. Next, Feversham ordered Villiers to extend the left flank by crossing the Lower Plungeon. At this point, Oglethorpe's troop returns behind the tent line and Feversham orders him and Orby (3) to move their squadrons across to the right flank.

Captain Jones has rallied his men and brings the squadron forward to enter the battle at point (4). In the dusk light, Jones finds the Upper Plungeon and attacks the Government open right flank at point (1). After some initial success surprising the remains of Compton's squadron, Jones's squadron was counter-attacked by Orby's and Oglethorpe's squadrons. Jones' men are overwhelmed by this renewed onslaught and break towards Sutton.

The firefight develops as both battle lines extend along the Bussex Rhyne at the Battle of Sedgemoor. (From multiple collections)

In the centre the Green Regiment have engaged the enemy dragoons. Fearing that they are Jones' men, Colonel Holmes orders his musketeers to stop firing and investigates, only to fall down wounded as the enemy fires another volley.

Churchill, rather than sending Kirke's brigade over the Lower Plungeon to attack the Whig's open right flank, now duplicates Feversham's orders and sends them to the left flank. This forces Feversham to countermand his orders to Sackville. While this confusion is taking place on the left of the Government line, the fighting develops in the centre with the arrival of the Government light artillery and the grenadier battalion arriving at point (3).

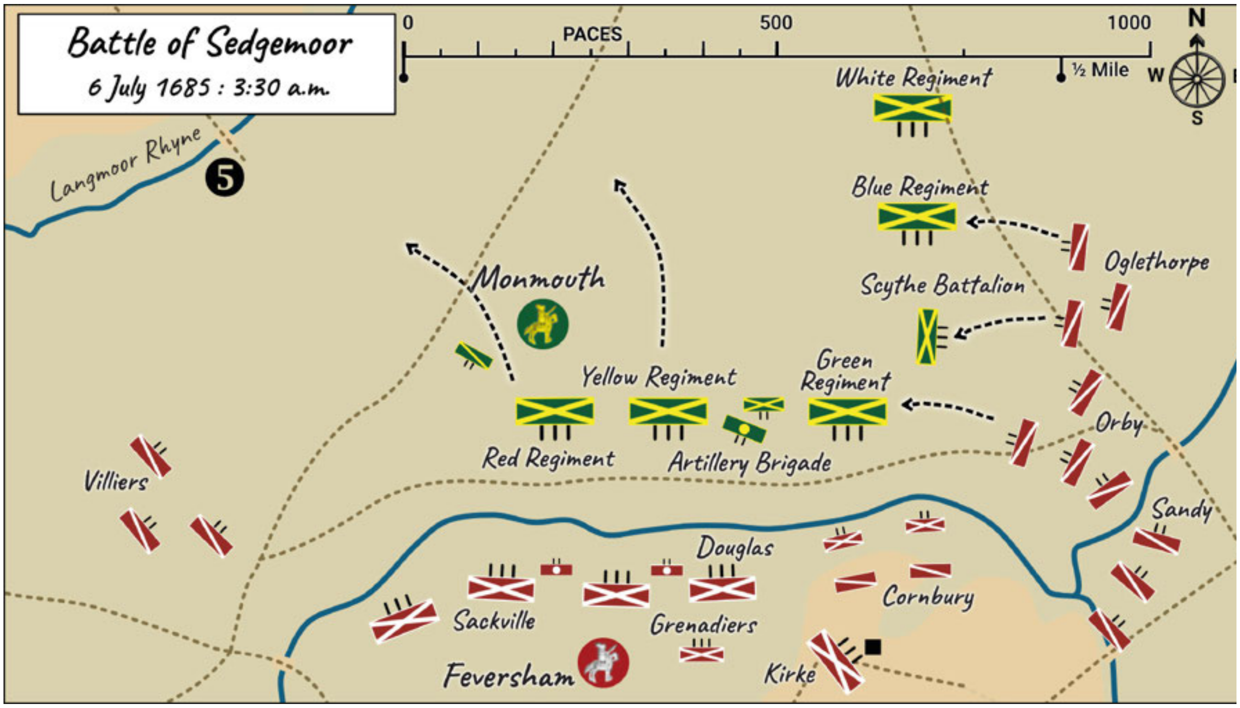
3:30 a.m. Fighting Withdrawal

Objective

Seeing defeat looming on the left flank Monmouth needs to pull off a miracle. The army's only chance is to pull back the Langmoor Rhyne and the cornfield. He issues the order to withdraw. Feversham is waiting for this moment to strike. With his cavalry pressing the enemy flanks he senses that victory will be decisive. Through the dawn light he sees an enemy pike block waver.

For the Whig player to win they must get at least three battalions and the guns back to the Langmoor and hold the crossing at (5). For the Government player, total victory is required. No enemy units can cross the Langmoor or leave the table.

Cavalry Counter-attack


Battle of Sedgemoor
6 July 1685 : 3:30 a.m.
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile
N
W
S
Langmoor Rhyne
5
White Regiment
Blue Regiment
Oglethorpe
Scythe Battalion
Monmouth
Yellow Regiment
Green Regiment
Red Regiment
Artillery Brigade
Orby
Villiers
Sandy
Douglas
Cornbury
Sackville
Grenadiers
Feversham
Kirke

Led by Colonel Brandt's scythemen, Monmouth's second line reached the battlefield just in time to repel Oglethorpe's first cavalry attack on the left wing. However, seeing that the Government cavalry was starting to swarm across the Bussex Rhyne on his left, Monmouth ordered his army to retire. On the right, where there was no pressure from the enemy, Wade and Matthew started a successful fighting withdrawal. However, on the other flank, where Bovett's and Foulkes battalions were still in column, they could barely hold their ground against the growing menace of the enemy cavalry.

However, the leaderless Green Regiment was hard-pressed, as they were pinned down by fire from the dragoons, under artillery fire and then assailed by enemy horse on the flank. With orders to pull back, they become disordered and the Government cavalry pounced.

As the Green Regiment fled, they exposed the rest of the Whig army to the enemy horse. Struggling to pull back his artillery pieces, Captain Buyse's gunners are attacked by Littleton's troop and they surrendered. However, Bovett's Blue Regiment faced cavalry attacks on three sides and unable to form up to repel cavalry, they stood no chance. To add to the chaos, the Wiltshire militia had arrived on this far flank to sweep up the fleeing Whigs. Seeing the Whig line waver and break, Feversham ordered his grenadier battalion to cross the Bussex Rhyne, to support the Royal Scots who had already started to advance. On their right, Kirke's brigade also moved across the Rhyne, following Lord Cornbury's remounted dragoons.

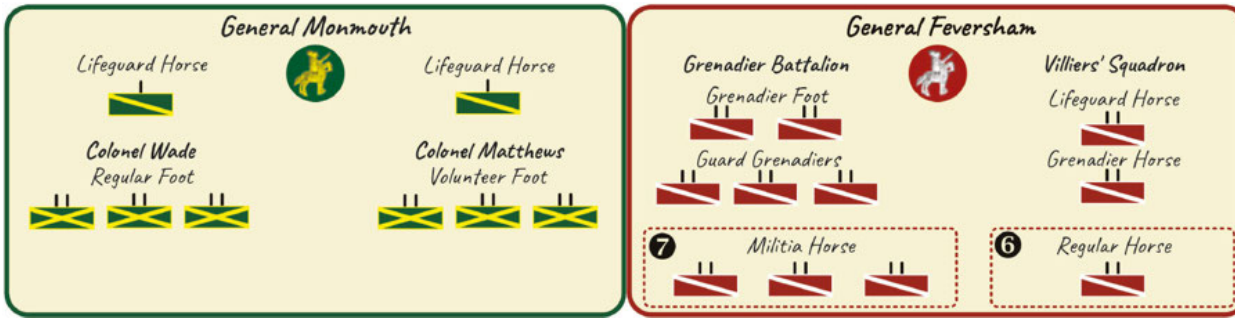
Three battalions of Whig infantry reached the cornfields on the far side of the Langmoor Rhyne. On the left, Foulkes' men were far enough away from the destruction of Bovett and Holmes and crossed near Mount Close Batch. Matthews' battalion in the centre, crossed the cornfield in good order, but Wade's soldiers had been slowed down by Villiers' squadron and fought a desperate rearguard action as they pulled back across the Langmoor at (5).

The Government cavalry crosses the Bussex Rhyne and starts to outflank the Whig line forcing Monmouth to order a fighting withdraw. (From multiple collections)

4:30 am – Last Stand

Objective

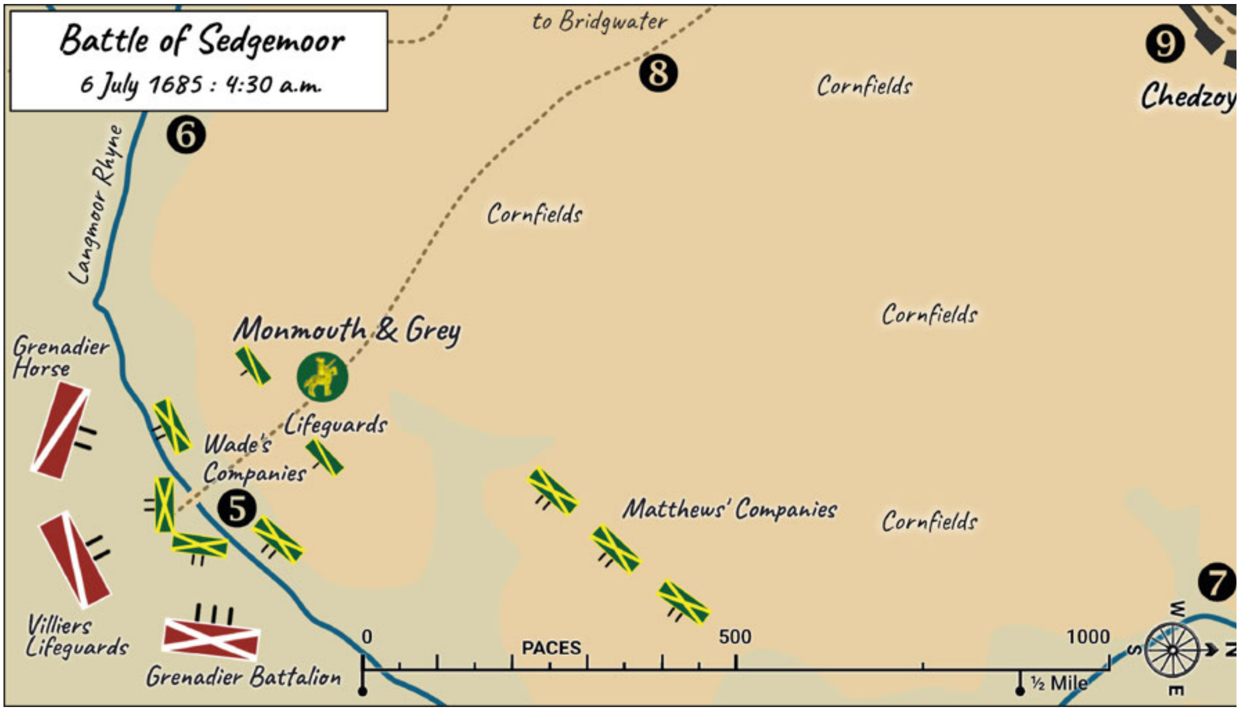
Monmouth manages to pull the remnants of his army across the Langmoor Rhyne. With both Matthews' and Foulkes' regiments escaping. Nevertheless, Wade still needs to withdraw his rearguard of pikes and muskets that are under renewed assaults by enemy grenadiers and cavalry. Behind these, more Government cavalry wait to surge across the waterway.


General Monmouth
Lifeguard Horse
Lifeguard Horse
Colonel Wade
Regular Foot
Colonel Matthews
Volunteer Foot
General Feversham
Grenadier Battalion
Grenadier Foot
Guard Grenadiers
Villiers' Squadron
Lifeguard Horse
Grenadier Horse
7
Militia Horse
6
Regular Horse

Meanwhile, Adderley's troop of the Oxford Blues finds the western crossing and will arrive at point (6) at any time. However further to the north, the blood-soaked militia horse will start to cross into the cornfields within the next 30 minutes at point (7).

For the Government player to finally win the campaign for their King, they need to capture Monmouth before he leaves the battlefield. Yet Feversham will not risk more men for the sake of the perfect victory. Therefore, if the Whigs form a strong line at point (8) he will order his regulars to stand. For the Whigs to live to fight another day, they must perform one more miracle. Monmouth will not leave the army until Wade reaches point (8) and has enough men to block the road to Bridgwater. However, Monmouth must flee through point (9) to reach Holland. Therefore, Matthews' men must hold the Duke's escape route open for as long as possible against the militia horse.

Fight in the Corn


Battle of Sedgemoor
6 July 1685 : 4:30 a.m.
to Bridgwater
8
9
Chedzoy
Cornfields
6
Langmoor Rhyne
Cornfields
Cornfields
Monmouth & Grey
Grenadier Horse
Lifeguards
Wade's Companies
5
Matthews' Companies
Cornfields
7
Villiers Lifeguards
Grenadier Battalion
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile
W
S
E

After taking heavy loses, Wade managed to withdraw across the Langmoor. Supported by Monmouth's Lifeguards, the remains of the Red Regiment pull back and reform, blocking the lane to Bridgwater. It is here that the remaining Whig officers persuade Monmouth to flee the battlefield.

With the remnants of Monmouth's army reformed in the cornfields to face his army for a second time, Feversham orders his men to stand. He has victory in his hands. Fearing ambush in the tightly packed cornfield, Feversham waits for the enemy to march off before ordering Oglethorpe to ride to London with news of the victory. Feversham then ordered Churchill to take Kirke's brigade into Bridgwater.

Aftermath

Major Wade marched his soldiers into Bridgwater to find dying and wounded soldiers, but also large numbers of Whig cavalry. Here he dismisses his regiment and gathers up supplies and weapons before fleeing toward Minehead. With him are about a score more officers and men. On route he meets Captain Hewling's troop of Whig regular cavalry. Together with Captain Cary's troops, the fugitives head into countryside. Colonel Foulkes and Colonel Matthews reach Holland. Here they are joined by Captain Hume and over a thousand other Whigs. After three more years in exile, they would all return with the Prince of Orange in November 1688.

The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Grey and Colonel Brandt headed through Chedzoy, before moving along the Polden Hills. Monmouth was finally captured near Ringwood in Hampshire two days later. On 15 July 1685 Monmouth was executed, while Grey was pardoned and Colonel Brandt secretly returned to Holland to be whitewashed from history. Sir John Kidd was captured near Warminster, while Colonel Holmes and Colonel Bovett were both seized on the battlefield. These officers were among the 315 executed for their part in the campaign, while 900 more were deported as slaves to the West Indies. After writing his famous narrative of the campaign, Nathanial Wade was pardoned.

It is estimated that around 500 Whig soldiers died in the fighting and 1,000 more in the rout at Sedgemoor, while 1,000 more were captured along with 27 colours, including Monmouth's standard. The Government army lost around 350 killed and wounded in the battle.

Other Outcomes

This battle hinged on three key ‘what-if’ factors.

Firstly, what if Monmouth’s men had surprised the vedettes, or forced them to run before warning Compton’s squadron? The outcome could have been that Compton’s men break and not the Whigs. Either way, the warning arrives in the camp 10 minutes later.

Secondly, what if Compton breaks all the Whig cavalry in the first encounter? In this outcome Monmouth would have had to order a withdrawal back to Bridgwater and wait for the Government to attack.

Finally, if Lord Grey hadn’t lost his guide in the initial rout, his troop would have encountered Sandys squadron and if victorious would have hit Cornbury’s dragoons. While Jones’ squadron might have hit the flank of the infantry.

If any of these events had happened the result of the battle could have been vastly different.

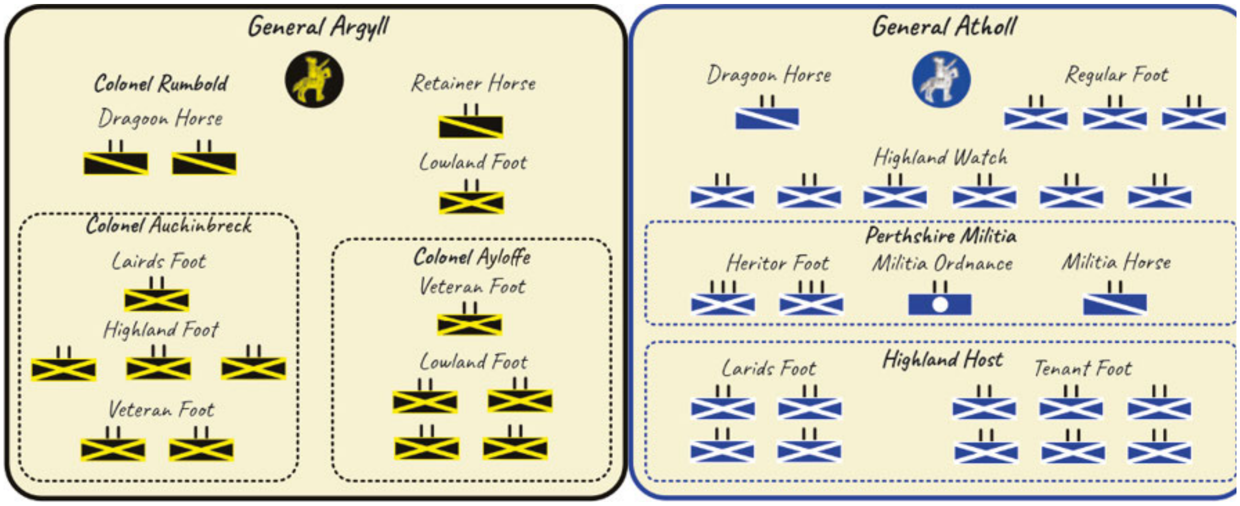
Fictional Battles

13 June 1685 –The Battle of Inveraray

After his victory at Ardkinglas, rather than returning to Eilean Dearg, Argyll elects to attack Inveraray.

Objective

The Government player needs to defeat Argyll's army and with this the Whig cause in Scotland is over. For the Whigs, they must take the town of Inveraray and then hold on until Monmouth wins in England.


General Argyll
Colonel Rumbold
Dragoon Horse
Retainer Horse
Lowland Foot
Colonel Auchinbreck
Lairds Foot
Highland Foot
Veteran Foot
Colonel Ayloffe
Veteran Foot
Lowland Foot
General Atholl
Dragoon Horse
Regular Foot
Highland Watch
Perthshire Militia
Heritor Foot
Militia Ordnance
Militia Horse
Highland Host
Carids Foot
Tenant Foot

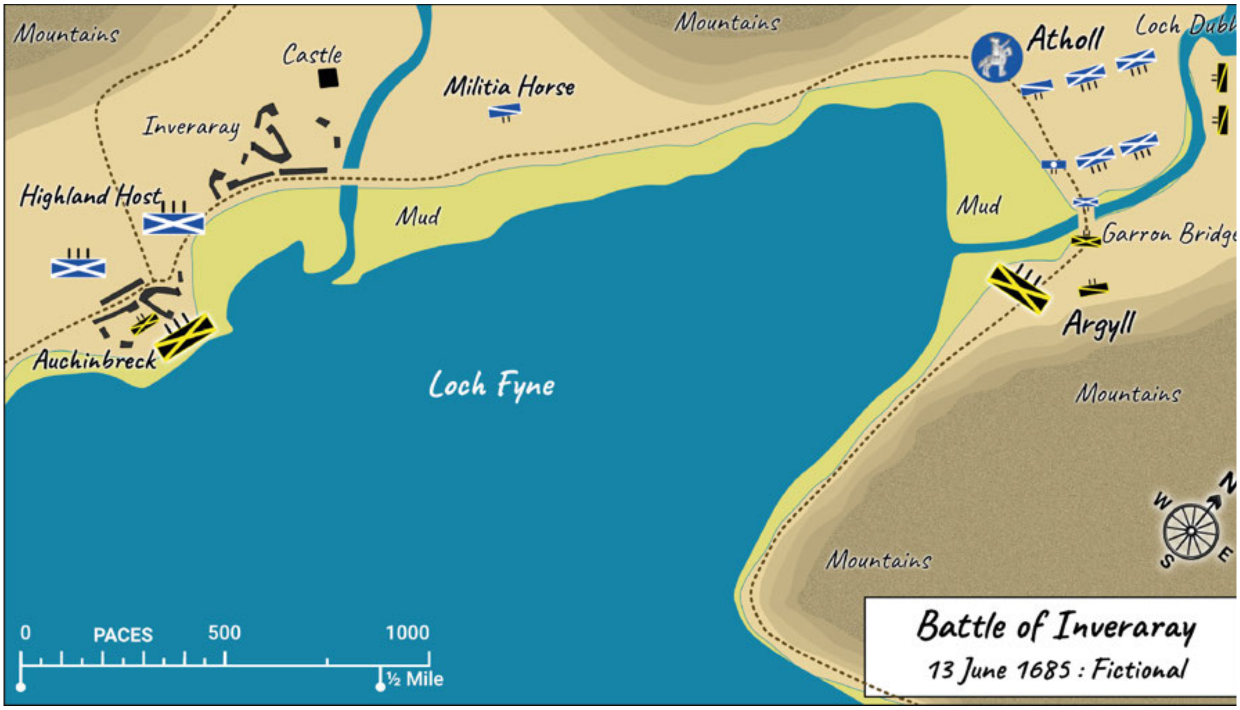
Government Deployment

Atholl’s scouts returned early that morning with the news that Argyll was marching towards Inveraray. He hastily sent a message to Commodore Hamilton asking for navel support and ordered McKenzie to pull back to the Garron Bridge. Leaving a strong garrison of Highlanders in the town of Inveraray, Atholl moved his regulars, militia and Highland Watch units towards the bridge and deployed them into a line of battle. With his leather guns covering the coast road on his right flank, across his front was the watercourse called Gearr Abhainn that linked Loch Dubh to Loch Fyne. His left flank rested on Loch Dubh. Placing his militia on the left, his regulars held the centre, with his cavalry and the Highland Watch units in reserve.

Whig Deployment

The victorious army of Argyll pressed on up the coast road towards Inveraray and saw the Government army drawn up in its line of battle. However, overnight he had dispatched two of his veteran companies and three Highland companies under Colonel Auchinbreck down to St Catherines to seize the ferry.

The Battle


Mountains
Castle
Mountains
Atholl
Loch Dub
Militia Horse
Inveraray
Highland Host
Mud
Mud
Garron Bridg
Argyll
Auchinbreck
Loch Fyne
Mountains
N
W
E
S
Mountains
0
PACES
500
1000
½ Mile
Battle of Inveraray
13 June 1685 : Fictional

Watching from his viewpoint on Strove Point, Argyll waited for the boats to leave the far shore before sending Rumbold forward with his dragoons. They were to move quickly and deploy on the edge of Loch Duhb. From this location, Rumbold would be able to fire on the enemy line. Then with Captain Hume's veterans leading the column, the Whigs moved to seize the bridge.

As the boats reached the shore, Major Fullerton's veterans rushed to form a firing line before the Highlanders could counter-attack. With the veterans forcing Atholl's Highlanders backwards with devastating volley fire, Colonel Auchinbreck and Charles Campbell led their retainer companies towards the town. Seeing an opportunity to regain Argyll's favour, Lochnell ordered his men to hit the rear of the Highlanders. In the ensuing slaughter, Lochnell's men finished what they had started two days earlier.

Atholl was faced with an attack on his rear and ordered his reserves to re-take the town, while the regulars held back the Whigs at the bridge. With the dragoons firing into their flank, Atholl’s militia saw the Highland Watch march away and fearing the worst they broke. As they ran, they took the Highland Watch with them. At the bridge, the fighting was intense. However, with no support or reserves, McKenzie was being forced backwards, but by now the battle was over. Atholl surrendered.

Aftermath

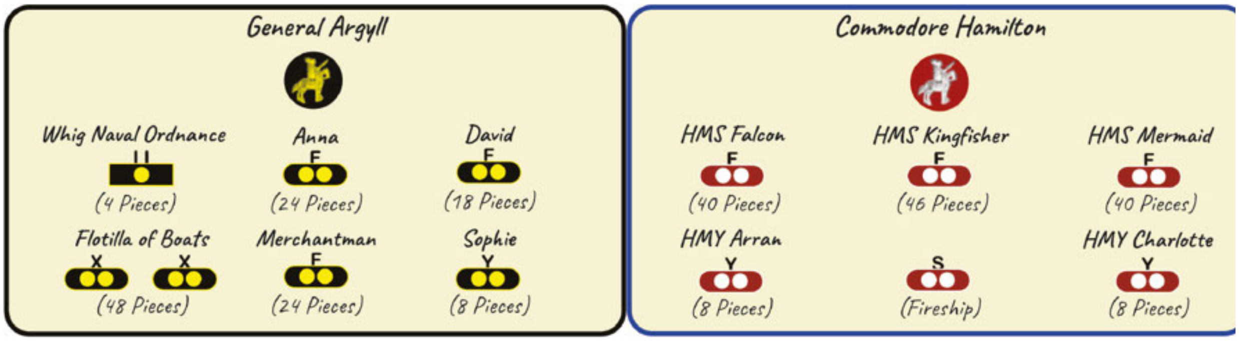
That evening HMS Kingfisher arrived off Inveraray, only to be welcomed by a shot from the castle’s old iron cannon. Over the next few days, the Whigs dragged some of their heavier guns to St Catherines and established a battery, which opened fire on HMS Kingfisher. Attacked on both sides Commodore Hamilton ordered the fleet to withdraw. With the presence of the Highland Watch removed, recruits from across Argyllshire enlisted in numbers. Within the week, Argyll had 6,000 men under arms and Lochnell becomes a Whig hero.

15 June 1685 – Battle of Eilean Dearg

Argyll rushed south to Eilean Dearg and after a difficult army council meeting, the Dutch captains are persuaded to engage the Royal Navy.

Objective

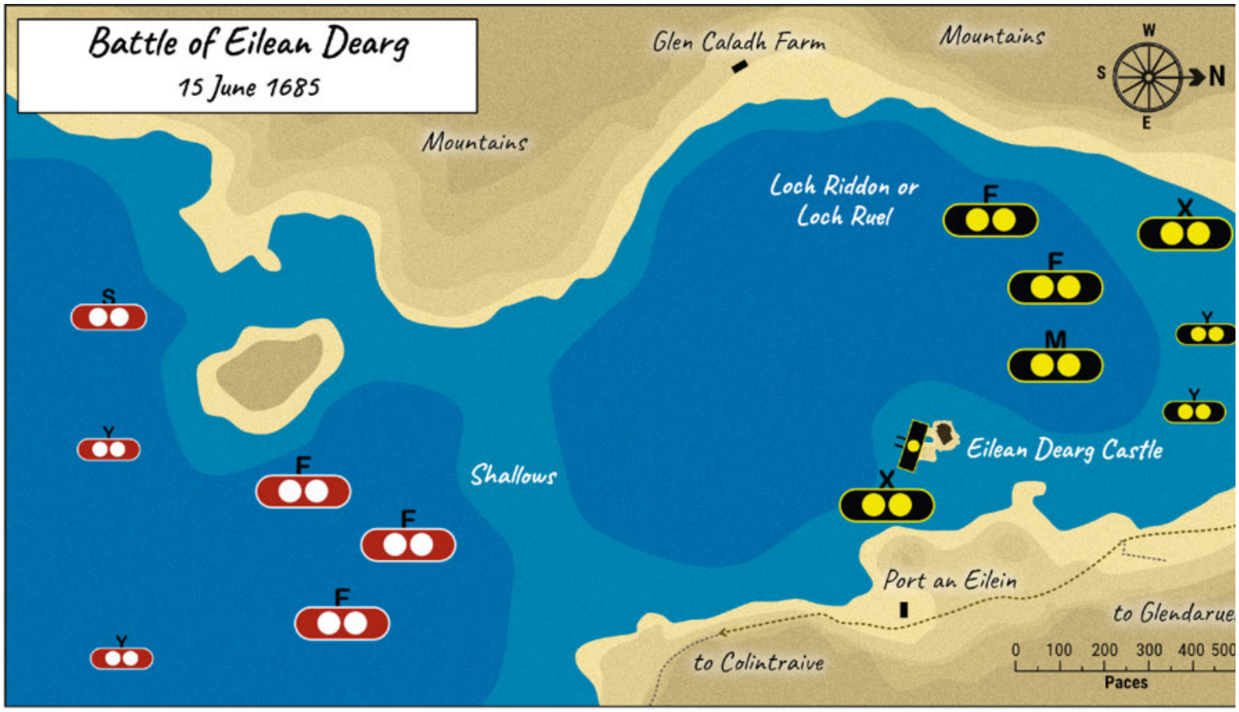
First the Whig player must get the Dutch captains and army council onboard and to win they must hold the castle. The Government player needs to take the castle or the two largest Whig ships to win.


General Argyll
Whig Naval Ordnance
II
(4 Pieces)
Anna
F
(24 Pieces)
David
F
(18 Pieces)
Flotilla of Boats
X
X
(48 Pieces)
Merchantman
F
(24 Pieces)
Sophie
Y
(8 Pieces)
Commodore Hamilton
HMS Falcon
F
(40 Pieces)
HMS Kingfisher
F
(46 Pieces)
HMS Mermaid
F
(40 Pieces)
HMY Arran
Y
(8 Pieces)
S
(Fireship)
HMY Charlotte
Y
(8 Pieces)

The Battle

At 9 o’clock in the morning, HMS Kingfisher crossed the shallows at the entrance of Loch Ruel. As she did her hull scraped across the rough stones and then the Whig battery opened fire with chain shot, aimed at the rigging. Commodore Hamilton ordered the heavy frigate to turn to present a broadside and as she did, the Anna slipped forwards to rake the frigate’s decks with grapeshot. Unknown to the crew of the Kingfisher, she had been holed entering the Loch and had started taking on water.

Behind the Kingfisher, the Falcon and the Mermaid barely had room to manoeuvre and came dangerously close to the bigger ship. With Anna and the 24-gun merchantmen firing on the two warships, the fight was becoming more balanced. However, the Kingfisher was still taking on water and every few minutes another discharge of chain shot hit the masts, until the foremast tumbled into the water. From the deck of the stricken warship, Hamilton’s worst fear was realised as a score of small rowing boats came out from behind the castle.


Battle of Eilean Dearg
15 June 1685
Glen Caladh Farm
Mountains
Mountains
W
S
N
E
Loch Riddon or
Loch Ruel
F
X
F
Y
M
Y
S
Y
F
F
F
Y
Shallows
Eilean Dearg Castle
X
Port an Eilein
to Glendarue
to Colintraive
0 100 200 300 400 500
Paces

The captains of both the Falcon and Mermaid saw the danger too, but with the Kingfisher blocking the Loch entrance and with no room to move, they ordered their longboats to tow them backwards. But it was too late for the Mermaid as the Anna closed and fired into her hull at close range. With swarms of Whig veterans now clambering aboard the Kingfisher, the battle was lost and Hamilton ordered his colours to be struck, with the Falcon and Mermaid following suit.

The Whig frigate Anna attacks HMS Falcon at the Battle of Eilean Dearg. (From the collection of Barry Hilton)

Aftermath

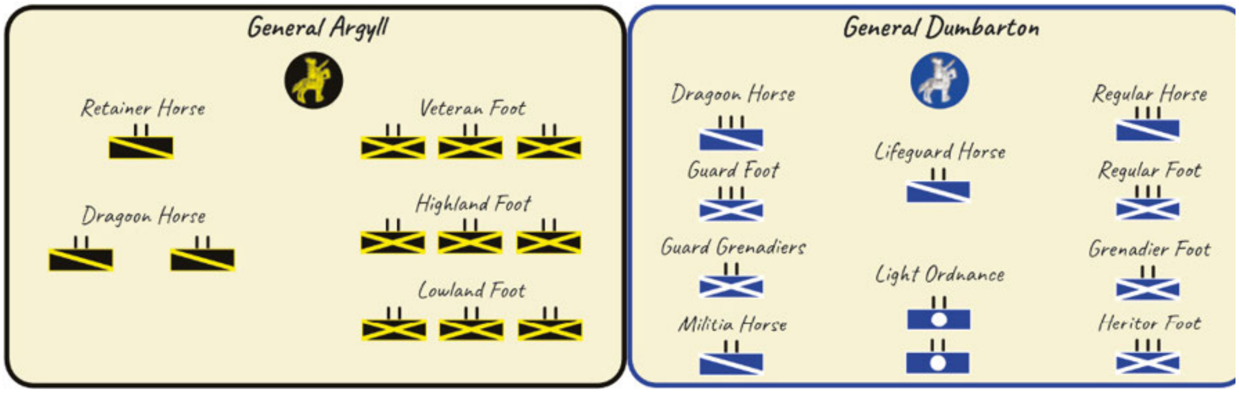
With an enlarged fleet, Argyll sailed up the Clyde to land his army at Greenock. The Covenanter mobs flocked to join Cochrane and overnight the army doubled in size before they marched to Glasgow to fight the Government army.

17 June 1685 – Battle of Killearn

In the army council meeting, Sir John Cochrane wins over Argyll and they agree to stand and fight the Government army.

Objective

The Whig player must win this battle to march on Glasgow. The Government player needs to capture or kill Argyll to end the campaign in Scotland.


General Argyll
Retainer Horse
Veteran Foot
Dragoon Horse
Highland Foot
Lowland Foot
General Dumbarton
Dragoon Horse
Regular Horse
Lifeguard Horse
Guard Foot
Regular Foot
Guard Grenadiers
Light Ordnance
Grenadier Foot
Militia Horse
Heritor Foot

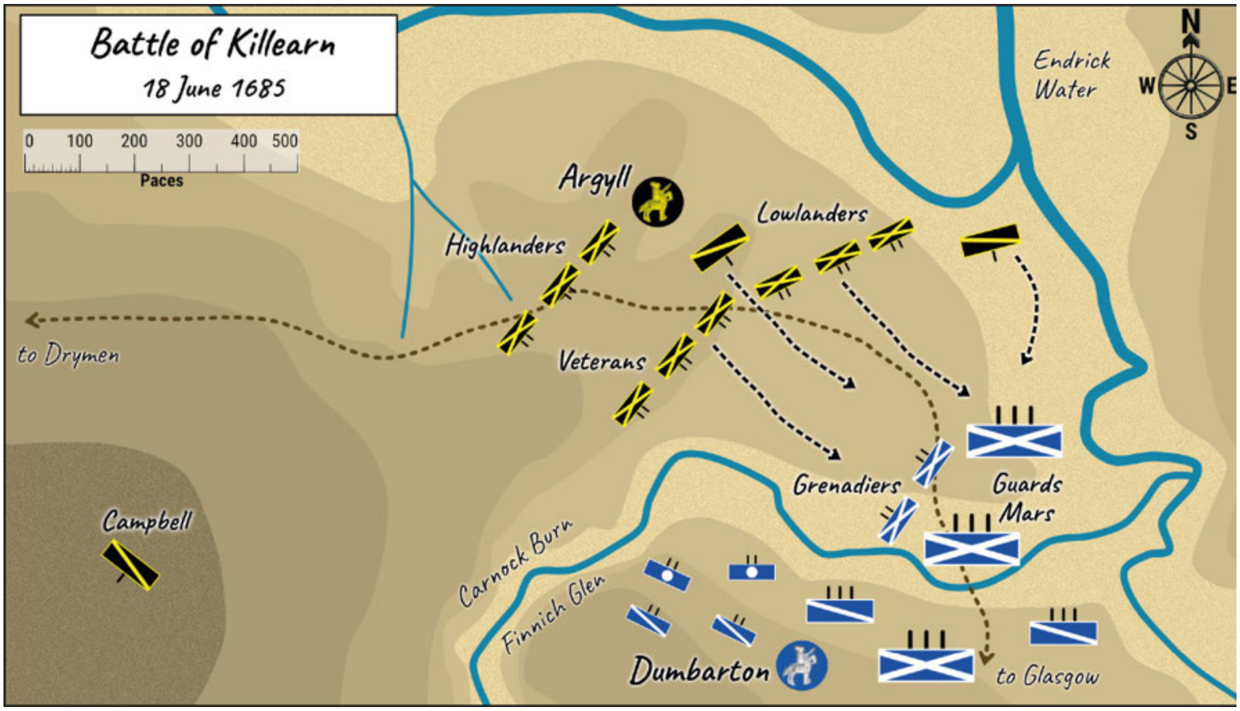
Whig Deployment

The Whig position to the west of Killearn was strong, sitting along a steep ridge. With the right flank resting on the deep fast-flowing Carnock Burn, the left was anchored on a bow of the Endrick Water, with the Blane Water running across the army’s front. The only way for the Government to attack was to cross a narrow ford that took the main road over the Carnock Burn. Argyll had placed his three veteran companies on the ground overlooking the ford and his Lowland infantry in the centre. Colonel Rumbold with his two dragoon troops was on the left wing. Colonel Auchinbreck was in reserve, with the remaining retainer and Highland companies. His son Charles Campbell and the retainer troop was in the rear of the army on the hill of Barachure.

Government Deployment

With the mist still covering the stream across the front, Dumbarton positioned his 3-pounders to enfilade the exit from the ford. From this position, the artillery could fire into the flanks of any Whig units launching a counter-attack against the ford. At sunrise, Dumbarton had dispatched parties of horse to the east and west to find a path around the enemy rear.

The Battle


Battle of Killearn
18 June 1685
0 100 200 300 400 500
Paces
N
W
E
S
Endrick Water
Argyll
Lowlanders
Highlanders
to Drymen
Veterans
Grenadiers
Guards
Mars
Campbell
Carnock Burn
Finnich Glen
Dumbarton
to Glasgow

The first battalion to cross the ford was the Guard’s grenadier company followed by the grenadiers from the Earl of Mar’s regiment. These engaged the veterans on the hill, while the rest of the Foot Guard battalion crossed the bridge. It was now that Colonel Rumbold advanced with the Whig dragoons to threaten the flank of the guards, at the same time Cochrane ordered his veterans and Lowland companies down the hill. This attack stalled the Guards’ advance and exposed the open flank of the grenadiers. Meanwhile, the Earl of Mar’s battalion was starting to cross the ford.

Even though they were under fire from Government artillery, the veterans quickly closed the distance and charged into the grenadiers and the flank of Foot Guard battalion. Seeing an opportunity to finish the battle quickly, Rumbold fed his dragoons into the combat. After a hard fight, the Government forces broke, running back into the ranks of Mar’s battalion. Dumbarton saw the danger to Glasgow and ordered his army to pull back, but it was too late. His army was broken. The Whigs pursued their enemy across the ford and seized the enemy cannon and the artillery train.

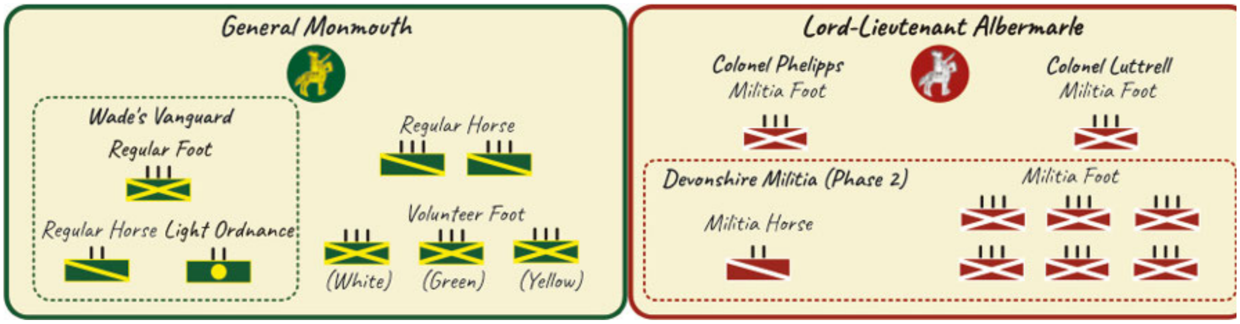
Aftermath

Facing strong parties of Government cavalry – the presence nearby of Lord Gordon with over 2,000 militia and the Marquis of Atholl's army still in the field – the next day the Whigs cautiously moved towards Glasgow.

15 June 1685 – Battle of Axminster

Objective

To win, the Government player must stop the Whigs marching north from Axminster. The Whigs must hold both bridges and break the Somerset militia.


General Monmouth
Wade's Vanguard
Regular Foot
Regular Horse
Light Ordnance
Regular Horse
Volunteer Foot
(White)
(Green)
(Yellow)
Lord-Lieutenant Albermarle
Colonel Phelipps
Militia Foot
Colonel Luttrell
Militia Foot
Devonshire Militia (Phase 2)
Militia Horse
Militia Foot

Government Deployment

Captain Littleton’s company quickly moved into the town of Axminster, seizing the buildings and barricading the road from Lyme. Behind them the rest of the militia arrive over the next few turns, deploying along the edge of the town.

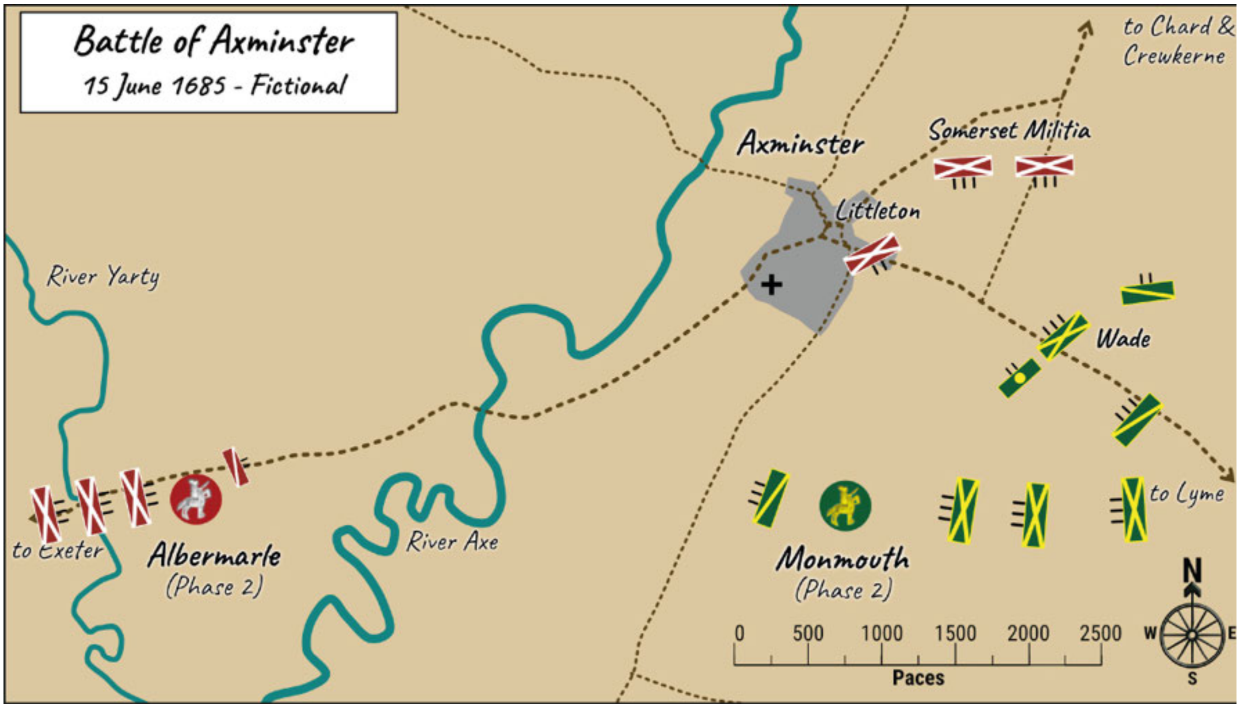
Whig Deployment

As Major Wade and the vanguard advance up the road, the scouts returned with a warning that the militia are in the town. The major deploys the Red Regiment into line and Captain Buyse placed the light artillery on the right flank. As the Whig vanguard advanced, militia reinforcements were deploying onto the ridge to the east of the town. Ignoring this new threat, the Red Regiment continued its advance; they need to take the town before the Devonshire militia arrives.

The Battle

Seeing the Red Regiment pressing home their assault on the town, Monmouth sent Major Manley’s squadron of horse to seize the southern bridge and then harass and delay the Devonshire militia. Then the main body of the Whig army formed a line of battle facing the Somersetshire militia, with the second squadron of horse held in reserve.

In the town, Wade takes the barricade at the push of pike and the thrust forces Littleton's company. As street fighting broke out, the light artillery took up an enfilading position across the main militia battle line. Here the raw Whig units struggle to maintain their order and move forward under volleys from the militia on the higher ground. Monmouth sends Captain Hewling's troop into the town to support Wade, who has ordered Captain Goodenough to take his wing of muskets to support Manley. Meanwhile, Hewling's cavalry quickly mops up Littleton's isolated company. This allowed Wade to wheel the Red Regiment to threaten the militia's open flank.


Battle of Axminster
15 June 1685 - Fictional
to Chard & Crewkerne
Axminster
Somerset Militia
Littleton
River Yarty
Wade
to Lyme
to Exeter
Albermarle
(Phase 2)
River Axe
Monmouth
(Phase 2)
N
W
E
S
0
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
Paces

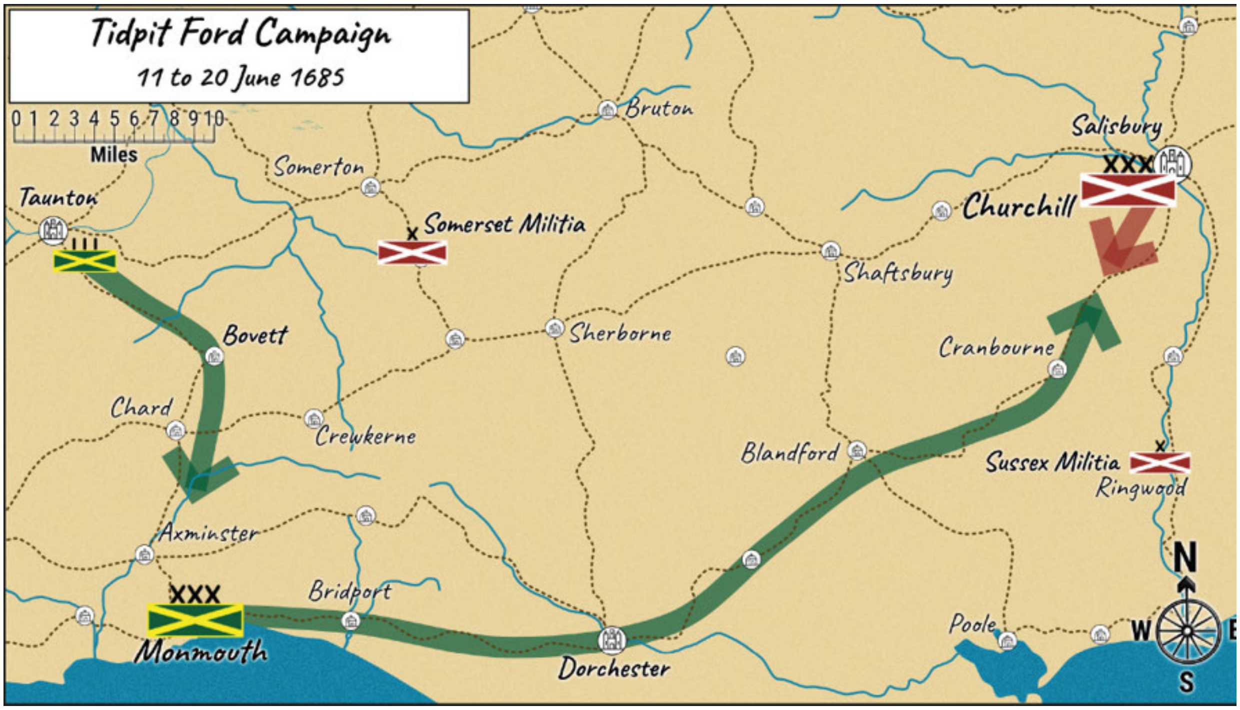
Albemarle had deployed his six regiments into a double line of battle and slowly pushed Manley's squadron back to the northern bridge. However, Goodenough's musketeers have made a rough barricade over the southern bridge and here a brisk firefight breaks out. Behind them, Luttrell's militia regiment on the left flank starts to waver and Monmouth releases his two remaining troops of horse. Under this new assault, the militia crumbles and breaks, running back towards Crewkerne. Over at the north bridge, Manley's troopers have dismounted and are tentatively holding their ground, while Goodenough’s musketeers were starting to run low on powder. Sending Wade and the artillery to the southern bridge, Monmouth takes the bulk of the army north.

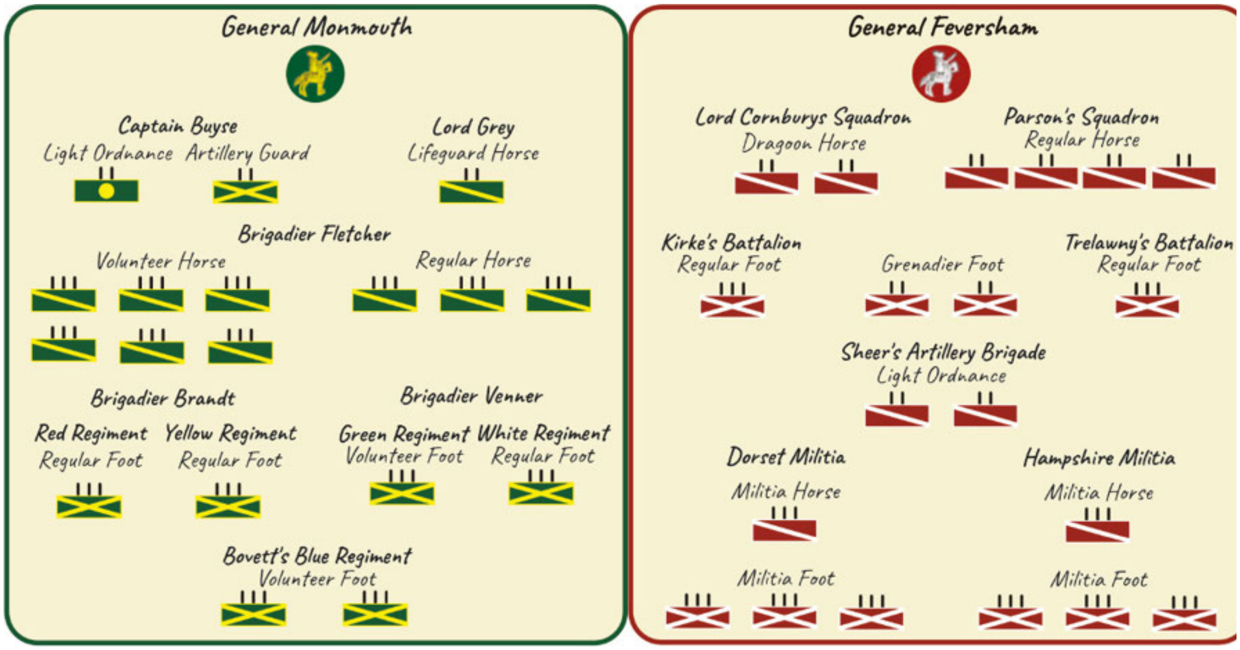
The Whig reinforcements arrived just in time at the southern bridge. Now supported by the light pieces of ordnance, the situation stabilised and the militia assaults were halted. To the north, Monmouth took his infantry over the bridge and engaged the Devonshire militia. With Manley’s and Hewling’s cavalry starting to pressurise the flanks of his militia regiments, Albemarle orders his army to withdraw. Seeing the retreat, Monmouth orders his infantry to hold its position while his horse harassed the enemy as they retreated. The battle was over.

20 June 1685 – Battle of Tidpit Ford

Objective

The Whigs must defeat the Government army defending Salisbury to be able to make a rapid march on London. For the Government player, they just need to block the London road until reinforcements arrive. However, the headstrong Churchill will not sit around waiting for the enemy.


Tidpit Ford Campaign
11 to 20 June 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
Taunton
Somerton
Bruton
Salisbury
XXX
Churchill
x
Somerset Militia
Shaftsbury
Bovett
Sherborne
Cranbourne
Chard
Crewkerne
Blandford
x
Sussex Militia
Ringwood
Axminster
Bridport
XXX
Monmouth
Dorchester
Poole
N
W
S


General Monmouth
Captain Buyse
Light Ordnance
Artillery Guard
Lord Grey
Lifeguard Horse
Brigadier Fletcher
Volunteer Horse
Regular Horse
Brigadier Brandt
Red Regiment
Regular Foot
Yellow Regiment
Regular Foot
Brigadier Venner
Green Regiment
Volunteer Foot
White Regiment
Regular Foot
Bovett's Blue Regiment
Volunteer Foot
General Feversham
Lord Cornburys Squadron
Dragoon Horse
Parson's Squadron
Regular Horse
Kirke's Battalion
Regular Foot
Grenadier Foot
Trelawny's Battalion
Regular Foot
Sheer's Artillery Brigade
Light Ordnance
Dorset Militia
Militia Horse
Militia Foot
Hampshire Militia
Militia Horse
Militia Foot

Whig Deployment

On 14 June, Colonel Bovett marched into Lyme with the Blue Regiment from Taunton, accompanied by a dozen troops of horse. The following day, Monmouth marched towards London with five large regiments of foot, 20 troops of horse and the light artillery. On 17 June the Whigs encountered the Dorset and Hampshire militia outside Dorchester, who withdrew back towards Salisbury where Churchill's brigade was forming. On 18 June, in Dorchester, Monmouth is crowned King James before the army marches towards London.

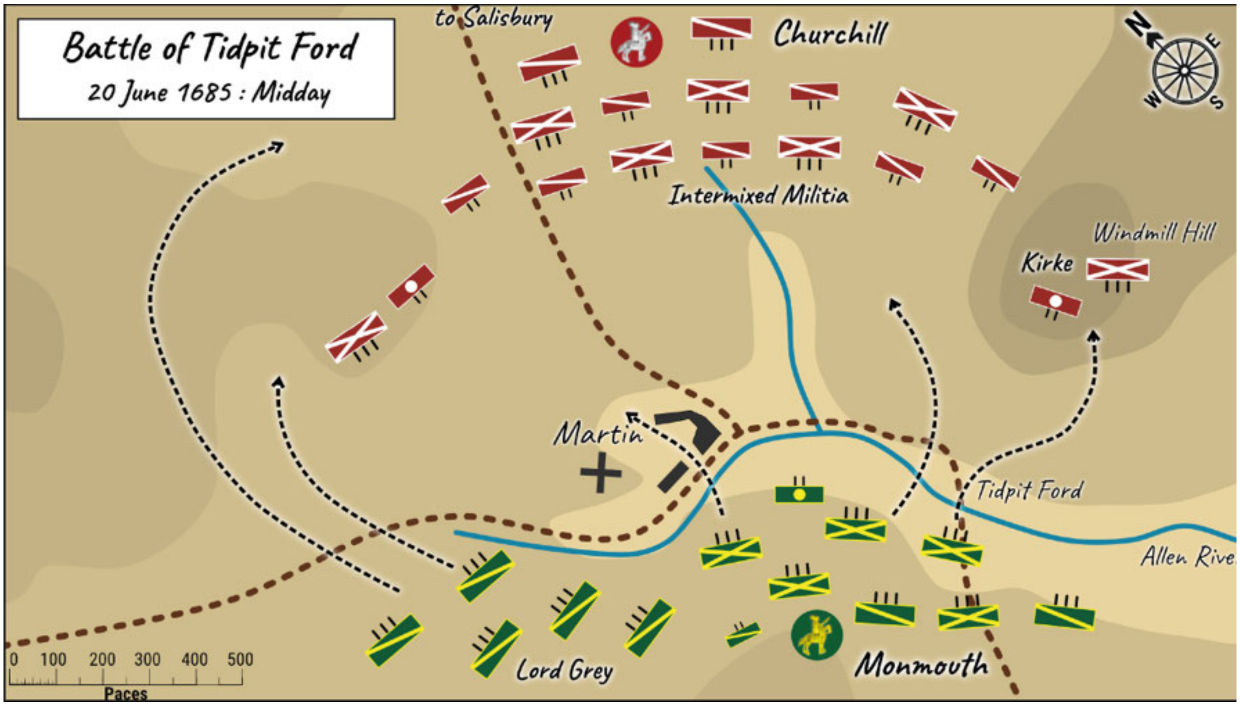
By 19 June, Monmouth's army had advanced to Cranborne and was aware of the regular horse to the front, and that night a skirmish between two patrols took place near Damerham. The following morning the Whigs marched north towards Salisbury, only to discover Churchill's Government army deployed across the road at Martin.

Government Deployment

With the dragoons and the artillery train finally arriving from Portsmouth on 19 June, Churchill moves west the following day. As he reaches the town of Martin his scouts report that Monmouth's army is hours away. The young commander deploys his army with his best soldiers and the artillery on the wings.

On the left flank, Churchill had placed Sheer's light cannon and three companies of Trelawny's regiment on Windmill Hill, overlooking the ford at Hancock's Farm. This sat on the River Allen which ran across the front of Churchill's positions, with Bustard's Manor in the middle of the line. Between this and across the valley in two lines, were the 11 regiments of Hampshire and Dorset militia and these had been intermixed with the 10 troops of militia horse. On the high ground on the right was Kirke's battalion, supported by the grenadiers from Trelawny's regiment. Behind Kirke, were his two troops of regular horse. In reserve, Churchill held back his two troops of dragoons and two more troop of regular horse. In all, the government army numbered 900 regular foot, 5,000 militia foot, 500 regular horse, 500 militia horse, 100 dragoons and eight light artillery pieces.

The Battle


Battle of Tidpit Ford
20 June 1685 : Midday
to Salisbury
Churchill
N
E
S
W
Intermixed Militia
Windmill Hill
Kirke
Martin
Tidpit Ford
Allen Rive
Lord Grey
Monmouth
0 100 200 300 400 500
Paces

Monmouth's army was stronger in cavalry with nearly 2,000 troopers but was weaker in infantry with only 5,000 foot and had but four light pieces. What followed was like a mini battle of Entzheim. Under fire from Sheer's guns, the Red Regiment, supported by the Yellow, stormed the Windmill Hill, while the Green and White Regiments, with the Blue Regiment in reserve, formed a line anchored on Bustard's Manor, where Buyse set up his light guns supported by a troop of horse. Monmouth with his centre right in a strong position, despatches 10 troops of cavalry out on a wide sweep on his left flank, causing Kirke to pull back. However, the two troops of regular horse on the flank were overrun. After a vicious fight on the summit of Windmill Hill, the Whigs pushed back the enemy regular foot and deploy along the ridge. Until now the militia had been static but could not advance into the valley with cavalry on the left flank and the Whigs on the high ground their left. Kirke’s isolated battalion is running out of ammunition and was being assailed by dozens of Whig cavalry.

Churchill orders the militia to pull back, but sensing blood, the Whig cavalry move in, while in the centre, the Green and Yellow Regiments move forwards and Bovett’s Blue Regiment moved towards Kirke’s beleaguered men. Meanwhile, the Red and White Regiments moved along the ridge and after repulsing an attack by the reserve cavalry, held the high ground behind the militia. The Government army is destroyed and the road to London is open.

Monmouth’s Red Regiment of Foot at the Battle of Tidpit Ford. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Aftermath

Monmouth’s next feat would be to defeat the Foot Guard brigade under Feversham, which had started its march from London. But Monmouth’s victory near Salisbury sparked a more widespread uprising and with the London mob out for blood, King James abdicates and flees to France.

25 June 1685 – Battle of Bristol

The Government army had occupied the outlying building and fortified the southern outskirts of the city. Two thirds of the militia infantry lined the barricades, with the two troops of dragoons holding the bridge. The Lifeguards and three troops of the Oxford Blues were held in reserve. Behind them, the remaining companies of Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire militia guarded the civic buildings and patrolled the uneasy streets.

Seeing Feversham's makeshift army arrayed before him, Monmouth deployed his army into two battle lines and ordered Lord Grey with some of his cavalry troops to probe the enemy's right flank. With the remaining squadrons in the rear as a reserve, the light artillery pieces of Captain Buyse closed and started to fire on the militia nearest the bridge, supported by Bovett's Blue Regiment. On their right was the Red Regiment, commanded by the Bristolian Major Wade and Matthews' Yellow Regiment, with Foulkes' White Regiment in the second line. However, it was Colonel Brandt's composite scythe battalion that led the attack on the left flank, supported by Holmes' Green Regiment and Captain Brand with a squadron of horse. After stiff fighting, the scythemen cut through the defences and Holmes' men stormed through the gap.

As the city awakes to gunfire, rumours quickly spread of Monmouth's attack and the Whig mobs start gathering on the streets. After a running street fight with the militia, the Whigs gain control of the civic buildings and the armoury. Pressed on both sides, Feversham launches a counter-attack, but with the militia running in panic and the north bank in hostile hands, he orders his men to cut their way out of the encircling enemy lines. The Whigs have taken the city by midday. As Feversham rides south, he meets Colonel Oglethorpe and the leading elements of Churchill's brigade and pulls back to Wells.

24 June 1685 – The Advance on London

Over the next two days, Monmouth’s army marches into Frome and onto Warminster, brushing aside the Earl of Pembroke’s militia outside the town without firing a shot. Here Monmouth finds more provisions, arms and thousands of supporters. With an army now numbering over 15,000, the campaign is gathering momentum. Behind him, Feversham pulls back to Bath and retraces his step to Chippenham where he rejoins the Footguards brigade. Churchill moves his brigade to Shepton Mallet and then Frome. The race to London is on, as Monmouth’s army gets closer, more and more of the militia and gentry join his ranks. The King’s only hope is the newly arrived Scots Brigade and Prince George of Denmark’s Regiment of Foot.

However, as more and more troops are pulled out of the city, an emboldened Colonel Danvers calls the Whig mobs onto the streets. At the Battle of Basingstoke, the Whig cavalry surprise and overwhelm Churchill’s brigade and capture the artillery, putting the foot to flight. As news of the Whig advance spreads, Cheshire rises and the Scottish army of Dumbarton now marching south is facing renewed resistance in the north of England. Feversham’s army moves parallel to them to block the main road into London at Bagshot.

Unit Profiles

Government Army in Scotland

Scots Lifeguard Horse

The Lifeguards had the best weapons and equipment during the campaign. As the ranks were full of experienced officers, they had the ability to perform all the military drills and exercises with ease. The two squads were led by the lieutenants and cornets.

Scots Regular Horse

These troopers were experienced and well-drilled soldiers, able to perform all the military evolutions and exercises. They will stay formed after a couple of combat rounds and can manoeuvre without the need to reform. They can dismount and fight as dragoons, but with limited range and movement.

Scots Dragoons

These soldiers were well trained and experienced and could perform all the military manoeuvres and drills, including dismounting and firing in extended order. All this ensured that they could conduct complex movements without becoming disordered.

Scots Independent Horse

These would be best used acting as sentries, but were well trained for civic and policing duties. However, they would not have been battle hardened.

Scots Militia Horse

They would have been able to perform the basic cavalry manoeuvres and drills while maintaining a degree of discipline. At Greenock, the Lord Cochrane’s militia troop used their carbines mounted, but also used pistols in the firefight. Likewise, at Muirdyke, they discharged pistols before trying to close with the Whigs. In combat, they would probably become quickly disordered.

Scots Foot Guards

As experienced soldiers, the Guards would be able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the complex square formations.

Scots Guard Grenadiers

These are the tallest and bravest soldiers in the regiment. As experienced soldiers, these grenadiers were able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the grenadier exercises and complex square formations.

Scots Regular Foot

As trained veterans, these soldiers can perform all the military drills with ease and can reform fast. They would have had a higher rate of fire than other units.

Scots Foot Grenadiers

These are the tallest and bravest soldiers in the regiment. As veteran soldiers, the grenadier companies would be able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the grenadier exercises and complex square formations.

Scots Garrison Foot

It is possible that these garrison sentinels were lower quality than their regular counterparts and would not have had any battle experience. Therefore, they would be able to drill, march, load and fire but would quickly become unstuck if deployed in open ground or ordered to perform multiple manoeuvres in succession, without time to re-dress ranks.

Highland Watch Foot

On enlistment they were issued with equipment. These men had been under arms for months and would have had enough discipline to form a body of two or three ranks and fire a good volley. Therefore, they would be able to drill, march, load and fire but would quickly become unstuck if deployed in open ground or ordered to perform multiple manoeuvres in succession, without time to redress ranks.

Scots Heritor Foot

These militia units appear to have been armed in the classic ratio of three musketeers to one pikeman. They could probably perform the basic military postures and drills and this would have enabled them to execute battlefield manoeuvres. However, they would have become disordered if they did not have time to redress their ranks.

Highland Lairds' Foot

These soldiers could be considered semi-professional and would press home an attack if ordered to do so by their laird. However, if left isolated or overexposed they would quickly withdraw and possibly even break if their laird was killed. However, they would quickly go to ground unless they continued to be encouraged by their laird. They could be deployed in two or three ranks but were unlikely to do any of the military disciplines, becoming disordered after a wheel, counter-march or interchange of files.

Highland Tenant Foot

These are classic Highlanders and their equipment was limited. They fought with whatever personal weapons they had at hand, which may have been a Lochaber axe, old pistol, a musket from the 1640s, or a sword and target. These men were held together by loyalty to their laird and they need to stay close to their specific commander or personality in order to press home any attack. Without encouragement from the clan leader, these men are likely to withdraw or run rather than fight. They would quickly become disordered, even if they have the encouragement of their laird.

Scots Light Ordnance

As experienced and professional gunners, these crews would be able to keep up a good rate of fire. The lieutenant of artillery would command the brigade, with the master-gunner overseeing the loading and aiming of each piece. They would have been supported by the under-gunners and soldiers acting as labourers.

Scots Militia Ordnance

This artillery would have been crewed by militia gun crews under the eyes of an experienced but ageing gun captain. As a result, they will be slow loading but proficient. The brigade would not be supported by an artillery train and possibly only travelled with an ammunition box of 30 shots, plus a few barrels of loose powder.

Government Army in England

English Lifeguard Horse

The lifeguards had the best weapons and equipment during the campaign. As the ranks were full of experienced officers, they had the ability to perform all the military drills and exercises with ease. The two squads were commanded by Lieutenants and Cornets.

English Horse Grenadiers

The horse grenadiers came from the ranks of the ordinary regiments, selected for their bravery and physique. As the ranks were full of experienced soldiers, they have ability to perform all the military drills and exercises with ease. They can fight dismounted as dragoons and grenadiers.

English Regular Horse

These troopers were experienced and well-drilled soldiers, able to perform all the military drills and exercises. They will stay formed after a couple of combat rounds and can manoeuvre without the need to reform. They can dismount and fight as dragoons, but with reduced range and movement.

English Dragoons

These soldiers were well trained and experienced and could perform all the military manoeuvres and drills, including dismounting and firing in extended order. All this ensured that they could conduct complex movements without becoming disordered. The senior sergeant would command the captain’s troop.

English Independent Horse

They were armed with older weapons. Overall, other than the officers and corporals, the soldiers would have limited military experience and been mounted on horses with only civilian training. This, coupled with the huntsman’s appetite for war, makes them rash and ill-disciplined, only being able to perform the basic drills.

English Guard Foot

As experienced soldiers, the guards would be able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the complex square formations. Initially, each guard company contained 60 men, but on 13 June orders were issued for the strength of each company to be increased to a100. This would have been accomplished by moving men into the companies selected to march west.

English Guard Grenadiers

These are the tallest and bravest soldiers in the regiment. As experienced soldiers, the guard grenadiers were able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the grenadier exercises and complex square formations. It was only after the battalions had marched west, that the strength of each grenadier company was raised from 50 to 100 privates.

English Regular Foot

On 13 June, all the regiments, except Colonel Kirke’s, received orders to increase its company sizes from 50 to 100 men. As trained veterans, these soldiers can perform all the military drills with ease and can reform fast. They would have had a higher rate of fire than other units.

English Grenadier Foot

These are the tallest and bravest soldiers in the regiment. As veteran soldiers, the grenadier companies would be able to perform every military drill, posture and instruction, including the grenadier exercises and complex square formations.

English Light Ordnance

The ordnance office employed a number of gunners and labourers, while the comptroller and commissionaires and wagoneers were hired for the campaign. The gunners would have been well trained but not battle hardened. The government artillery brigades had insufficient officers, with only one master gunner per train of artillery and one gunner and mate per piece.

English Field Ordnance

The field brigade contained heavier pieces, but did not have a dedicated commission – each piece only had two gunners and two labourers per piece – while the comptroller and commissionaires and wagoneers were hired for the campaign. The gunners would have been well trained but not battle hardened.

English Siege Ordnance

The siege brigade contains the heaviest pieces, but did not have a dedicated commission – each piece only had two gunners and two labourers. The gunners would have been well trained but not battle hardened. The untrained labourers would have slowed the rate of fire. This will only be fired in a fixed battery.

English Pioneer Foot

These labourers turned soldiers would not have been highly trained. They would not be able perform much in the way of exercises or drills.

English Militia Horse

These troopers would be more at home breaking up mobs of unruly revellers than armed enemy blocks. Therefore, the training would be more focussed on basic movement than complex battlefield caracoles, wheels and turns.

English Militia Foot

These companies were officially mustered for training twice a year and were called out in case of trouble or disorder in the region. The militia may have been armed and equipped with older weapons and in some cases, these were poorly serviced and rusty and some musketeers also complained of not having bullet moulds or being paid. Although trained, these soldiers would be more used to civic duties or herding drunk mobs and therefore are not battlefield ready.

Whig Army of Scotland

Whig Dragoons

The ranks of these troops had been bolstered by some of the Scottish veterans acting as NCOs. Importantly, the troopers were fighting against King James VII, rather than for Argyll. They looked to their Whig officers for leadership, especially Rumbold and Cochrane and they would press home an attack. They would be happy to dismount and engage in a firefight. If faced by regular cavalry, they would skirmish rather than charge home. Their basic training enabled them to form into two or three ranks at the close order and wheel, but they could become disordered if asked to do multiple tasks.

Whig Retainer Horse

They fight for the house of Campbell and would not see it fall, so these men were held together not by the cause but by loyalty to and faith in Argyll. Therefore, they need to be close to either Argyll or his son Charles to be effective. The basic cavalry training given to these troopers would allow them to move in two ranks while mounted. However, they were unlikely to maintain this formation while wheeling or turning. If ordered to charge, they would close with the enemy and could be vicious melee troops. Their preference would be to fight on foot as dragoons with good morale.

Whig Veteran Foot

The bulk of these were experienced soldiers, who had fought in foreign military service, some of whom were Reformado officers (ex-officers serving in the ranks waiting for a position to become vacant). As the campaign progressed, close bonds formed within the companies. This was based on common religious beliefs, shared experiences, plus a deep hatred of King James VII and everything he represented. During the crossing, these soldiers grabbed the best weapons and equipment from Argyll’s vast stores. All this weaponry turned these units into formidable fighting machines with a high rate of fire, a solid steel front against cavalry and unstoppable morale.

Whig Lairds’ Foot

These men were from the personal household of a clan laird and they were better equipped than other Highlanders. They would have arrived at the army with swords, pistols and targets. After enlistment, they were issued with the latest firelocks from Holland, bandoleers and even the odd bayonet. The NCOs are Dutch veterans and have instilled some discipline and the troops could press home an attack if ordered to do so by their laird.

Whig Highland Foot

These soldiers had been recruited from amongst the Campbell clans and were a mixture of labourers, workers and tenant farmers. They were in the army by obligation rather than conviction. However, these men are held together by faith in their laird and veteran NCOs. They would quickly become disordered, even with the encouragement of their laird.

Whig Lowland Foot

Before joining the army, these men would have been a no more than a Covenanter mob with almost no weapons. While some of the soldiers may have had military experience most of the men were raw recruits. On enlistment, each man was issued with a sword, firelock musket and a bandoleer, then placed into one of the Lowland companies with a veteran NCO. If engaged they could load and fire and with the encouragement of a personality and even press home an attack and they would stand firm, only breaking if overwhelmed. As these soldiers were fighting against King James VII, rather than for Argyll, they see Sir John Cochrane or Sir Patrick Hume as their leaders. However, they would be the first to question their orders if they felt that they were against the greater good.

Whig Naval Ordnance

The gunners would be experienced crew and could therefore load, aim and fire the pieces with a good rate of fire. However, as the enemy was not floating, they would not be the greatest of shots. Like most gunners, they would be very happy to simply load and fire, but nothing more. They have no conviction for the cause, Argyll, or victory, only for money and an easy life. Unfortunately for Argyll, when it came to fighting, they would check the small print on their contracts and possibly ask for more money, before taking any risks. The ship’s captains would down tools very quickly if the odds were against them. As a result, they will break on impact or if things look remotely bad.

Whig Covenanter Mob

The mob would have picked up whatever weapons they could find, from old muskets, bills, swords or clubs. Unless God was truly on their side, these ill-armed and poorly led men would break on first contact with the enemy.

Whig Army in England

Whig Lifeguard Horse

These troopers could perform all the basic battlefield manoeuvres, including the caracole in three ranks. They would aggressively press home any attack or beat off the enemy. Their impressive weaponry and horsemanship made up for a lack of experience. However, if the combat lasted for more than a couple of rounds, their lack of military training would result in them becoming disordered. They have high morale and are very loyal to Monmouth.

Whig Regular Horse

At the start of the campaign, they should be considered as raw, with ‘scatty’ horses. However, they quickly become better trained and experienced as they scouted ahead of the army or covered the flanks and are able to skirmish with the regular cavalry. By Sedgemoor, they are experienced troopers and could perform basic battlefield manoeuvres, including the caracole in three ranks and would aggressively press home an attack or fend off the enemy. Their impressive weaponry made up for a lack of experience. If the combat lasts for more than a couple of rounds the lack of training would result in them becoming disordered.

Whig Volunteer Horse

As the horses were untrained, it is this that makes their combat abilities lower than the enemy troopers. They will be able to fight in two or three ranks at close order, but not perform complex battlefield manoeuvres, beyond wheeling and the caracole by ranks. When charging home or receiving the enemy they would quickly become disorganised without their squadron commander, Lord Grey or Monmouth being close. They would hold their ground if pressed, but they are unlikely to attack infantry or dismounted dragoons unless following up a disordered foe.

Whig Irregular Horse

These troopers lacked the basic skills to retain ranks or files when on the move and would quickly become disordered. They would follow their squadron leader into combat but have little staying power beyond the first poor pistol shot or bad sword cut. These men were perfect for the chase and made perfect scouts as they had good local knowledge. Irregulars cannot be in mixed squadrons with troops of volunteers or regulars.

Whig Reformado Foot

On the transports, these experienced officers had the pick of the weapons and when they marched into Lyme, they were armed to the teeth with firelock muskets or carbines, quad-barrelled pistols, bayonets and swords. They are professional soldiers, with high morale, the best weapons and good fighting skills. They can perform any military exercise, posture or manoeuvre.

Whig Regular Foot

These soldiers have been taught the key battlefield manoeuvres, postures and exercises, including interchanging files, wheeling, firing by rotation and volley. As the first units at the start of the campaign they have standardised musket bore and all have either matchlocks or firelocks. They would be able to march by divisions and then deploy into without becoming disordered. However, an overall lack of experience means that if complex exercises are performed, without the ranks being redressed, they could become disordered.

Whig Volunteer Foot

These soldiers have been taught the key battlefield manoeuvres, postures and exercises, including interchanging files, wheeling, firing by rotation and volley. Unfortunately, the companies have a mixture of musket types and bores. They would be able to march by divisions and then deploy into battalia without becoming disordered. However, an overall lack of experience means that if complex exercises are performed, without the ranks being redressed, they could become disordered.

Whig Scythe Foot

These men can stand against a disciplined cavalry attack and are able to manoeuvre in ranks and files, interchange files, change facing, wheel and fight in the street fighting way. However, when in battle, only basic moves would have been attempted to avoid becoming disordered.

Whig Irregular Foot

These recruits have been taught all the basic postures, exercises, including wheeling and interchanging files. Unfortunately, the companies have a of a lack of weapons and few NCOs to control the ranks.

Whig Artillery Guard

These men can stand against a disciplined cavalry attack and are able to manoeuvre in ranks and files, interchange files, change facing, wheel and fight in the ‘street fighting way’. However, when in battle, only basic moves would have been attempted to avoid becoming disordered. The army has two artillery guard companies.

Whig Light Ordnance

As specialists, these crews will be able to keep up a good rate of fire under Captain Buyse’s direction. They can also move at the same speed as infantry battalions. These practised gun crews could fire without Captain Buyse, as individual pieces, but the effectiveness and rate of fire of each would diminish. It would also result in the ammunition caissons being left with the artillery park.

Whig Clubmen Band

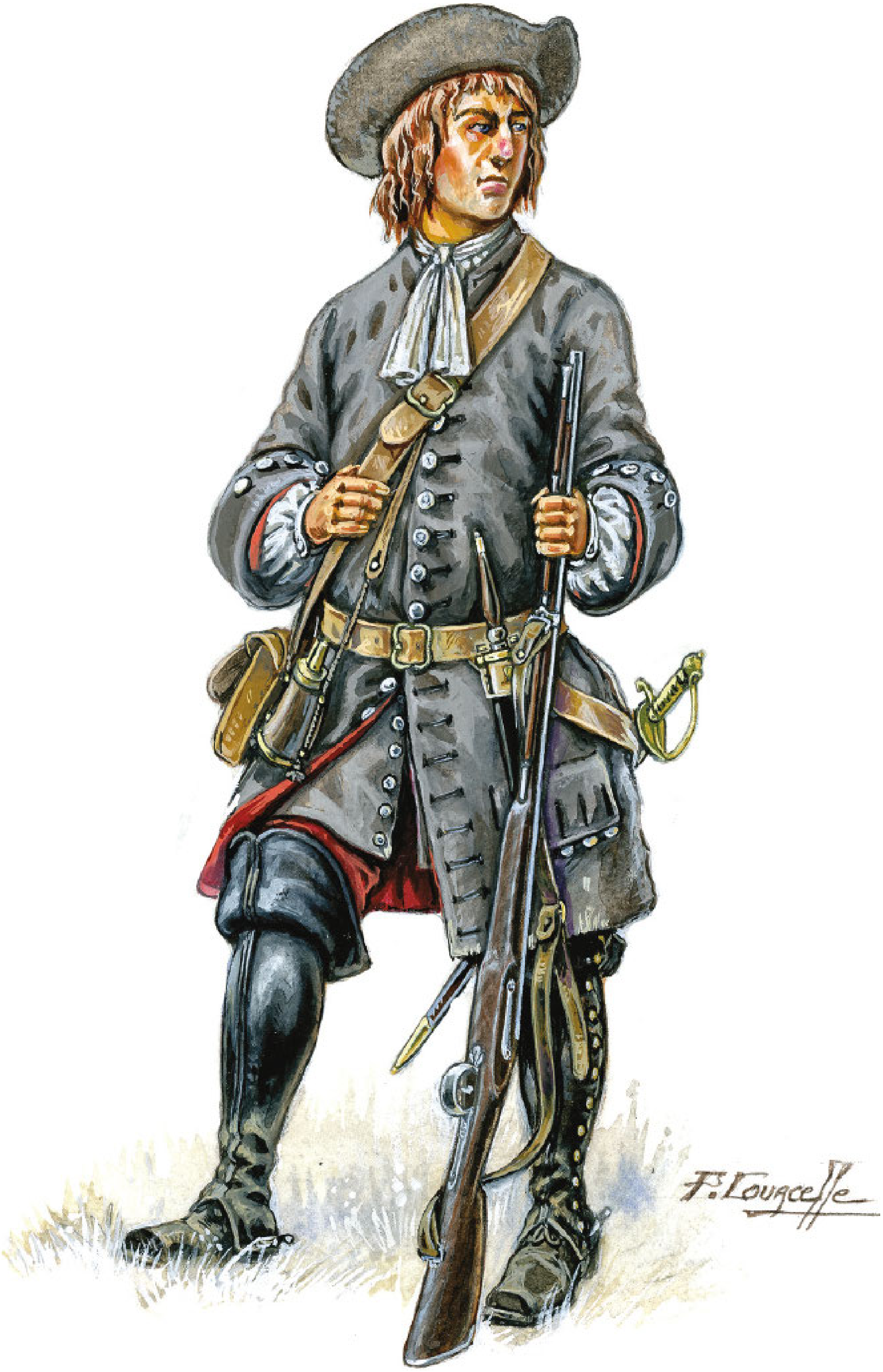
These are civilians that have basic weapons skills and exercises. Within the ranks are ex-militiamen and old soldiers. The bands have a mixture of weapons and lack sufficient NCOs to control the ranks. However, they do have a loose command structure.

Painting Guide

Scottish Government Army

Colonel Livingstone’s Troop of Lifeguards

The troop wore scarlet coats with white facings and gold buttons, under this was a buff waistcoat, blue breeches, black boots and blue carbine slings. Their black hats had a white band with gold lace. The saddlecloths and holsters were possibly white with the royal cypher and crown in silver edged in gold. While on the campaign, they possibly wore blackened back, breastplates and pot helmets. The trumpeters wore the royal livery with crimson coats lined and faced in sky blue, heavily laced in gold and silver. The cornet was possibly crimson taffeta edged in gold and silver, being the same as the other lifeguard troops.


F. Courcelle

Trooper from the King’s Royal Dragoons 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Colonel Claverhouse’s King’s Regiment of Horse

The troopers of the King’s Regiment wore red coats with yellow facings and linings plus gold lace and brass buttons. Under the coat was a pair of buff breeches and waistcoat. They were armed with a pair of pistols, a short carbine and a sword. The back, breast and pot helmets were blackened. The saddlecloth and holster cases were reported to be blue, although they may have been red with yellow or gold lining. Each troop appears to have a crimson guidon with the royal badge or cypher JR VII.

General Dalyell’s King’s Regiment of Dragoons

The uniform of the Scots dragoons, later the famous Scots Greys, was a grey coat with grey lining and tin buttons and under the coat was a red waistcoat and breeches. They would be wearing black brimmed hats rather than bonnets and were armed with long carbines, a pair of pistols, a sword, plug-bayonet and cartridge box. Unfortunately, there are no references for the saddlecloths or holster caps, but it is possible that they were red with white or silver linings.

The company guidons were not documented but may have been crimson and similar to the English dragoons. As regulars, they can perform all the military disciplines, wheel and interchange without becoming disordered.

Independent Troop of Guards

These troopers probably wore red coats lined yellow, with yellow breeches. They were possibly equipped with pot helmets, front and back cuirass, a pair of pistols, a short carbine and a long sword. The saddlecloths and holster caps would have been red with gold or yellow lining.

Scottish Militia Regiments of Horse

The Earl of Findlater's men wore a uniform of a red coat, red breeches, white stockings and shoes. However, these men might have had better equipment than other units and grey may have been a more common coat colour. They would be wearing a mixture of bluebonnets and broad-brimmed hats. The saddlecloths and holster caps, if present, may have been the same colour as the coats.

Colonel Douglas' Regiment of Foot Guards

The soldiers wore a red coat with white linings and facings plus silver lace and gold buttons. Under the coat was a white waistcoat, breeches and stockings. It is likely that they wore hats rather than bonnets. There are no accounts of the colour of the grenadier caps, but red with white facings and silver and gold lace would be a good assumption. Each soldier was armed with a matchlock musket, bandoleer, sword and possibly a plug bayonet.

The company colours were recorded as a plain white field for the colonel. The lieutenant colonel’s colour was a white cross of Saint Andrew on a blue field. The major’s a white cross of Saint Andrew on a blue field with a red pile wavy on the top corner near the pike head. The first captain’s colour was a white cross of St Andrew on a blue field with a blue ‘I’ above in the top quarter. The second captain’s a white cross of St Andrew on a blue field with a blue ‘II’ above in the top quarter and so on.

Earl of Mar’s Regiment of Foot

They wore a uniform of red coats with red lining and facings with brass buttons. Under their coats were grey waistcoats, breeches and stockings. It is likely that they wore hats rather than bonnets, with the grenadiers in caps. These may have been red with yellow lining and possibly fur lined. Musicians would be in red with gold lining on the seams of the coat and cuffs. Each soldier was armed with a matchlock musket, bandoleer, sword and a plug-bayonet.

In 1688, the colonel’s colour was a white field, in the centre a blue circular patch, with a thistle with a crown above and around this was the motto ‘NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT’ in gold. The lieutenant colonel’s colour was a blue field with white St Andrew’s cross and from the centre of each angle a white flame or ray, with the same centre as the colonels. The major’s colour was the same as the lieutenant colonel’s but with a red flame in the upper corner. The first captain’s colour was the same as the lieutenant colonel’s but with the roman numeral ‘I’ above the device. The second captain’s colour was the same as that of the lieutenant colonel but with the roman numerals ‘II’ above the device and so on.

Independent Garrison Companies

These soldiers possibly wore red coats with yellow facings, under which would have been yellow waistcoats and breeches. They would have worn black broad-brimmed hats and were armed with a mixture of polearms and matchlock muskets.

Highland Watch

Some accounts put these soldiers in red coats, or they could have appeared in a mixture of plaid and military coats. The plaid was not of a clan pattern, instead it was based on what was available from local weavers. However, there may have been some uniformity as it was purchased in bulk. Mixes of green, red or yellow were popular at the time. They would predominantly wear bluebonnets, but with a smattering of woollen caps or brimmed hats for the officers.

Heritor Battalions

Each militia unit was equipped and uniformed at the expense of the Lord Lieutenants and this would have resulted in a mix of coat colours. There is little information available about the uniforms of Scottish militia in 1685. However, during the 1670s, the East Lothian and Fife and Kinross Regiment had blue coats lined white and the Edinburgh militia wore red coats lined yellow. The rest of their clothing would be civilian breeches, stockings and shoes, with an assortment of hats and bluebonnets. There are no records of the colours carried by these units, but it was likely that they were a white cross of St Andrew on a blue field with the colonel’s or captain’s arms in the centre.

Lairds Company

The company would be full of men dressed in a mixture of Lowland civilian coats and Highland garb with trews or plaid in bright colours, with most wearing the blue bonnet.

Tenant Company

As classic Highlanders, they wore a mixture of Highland plaid, shirts or mid-century doublets and breeches. However, as plaid was not of a clan pattern they would be in reds, blues, yellows and other bright colours. They would mostly wear faded bluebonnets, with the rest in a combination of woollen caps and brimmed hats of brown, grey or black.

Light Artillery Brigade

The lieutenant, master gunners and under gunners wore scarlet coats faced with silver lace, silver buttons, scarlet breeches and the higher the rank, the more lace. They wore scarlet fur lined caps.

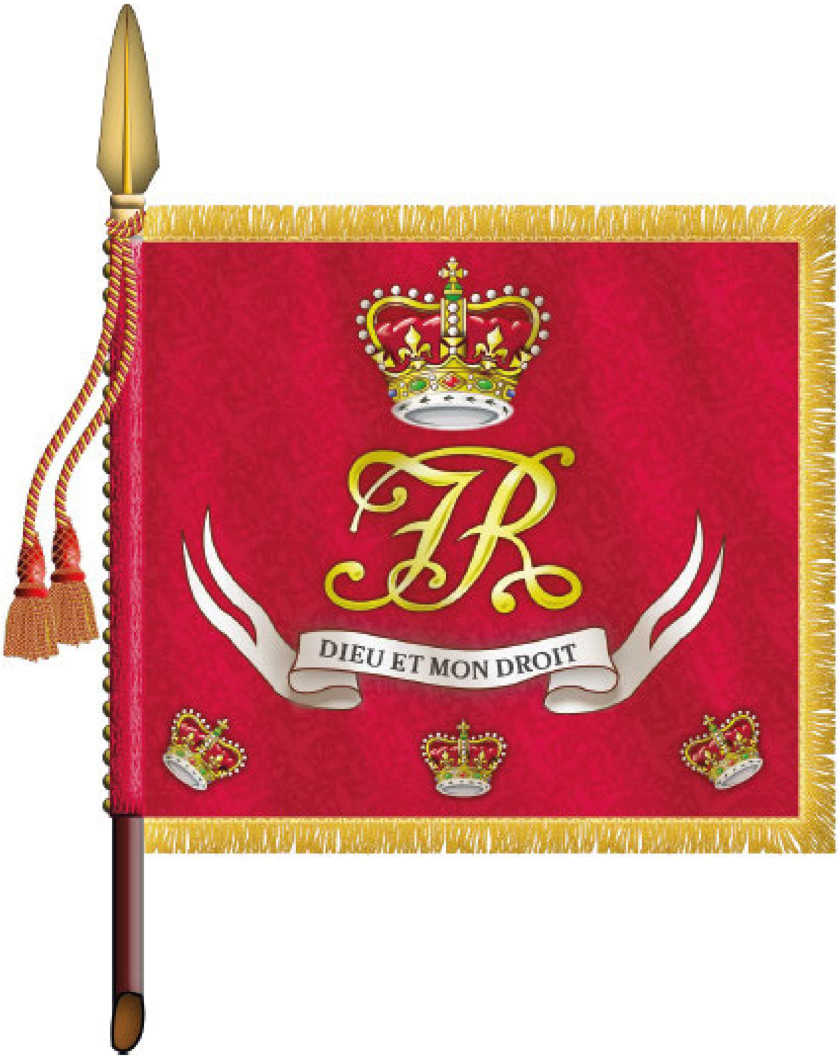
Militia Artillery Brigade

They would be dressed in civilian coats, breeches, stockings and shoes, with a blue bonnet or broad-brimmed hat. The gun captain would probably be dressed a militia uniform, possibly a red coat.

English Government Army

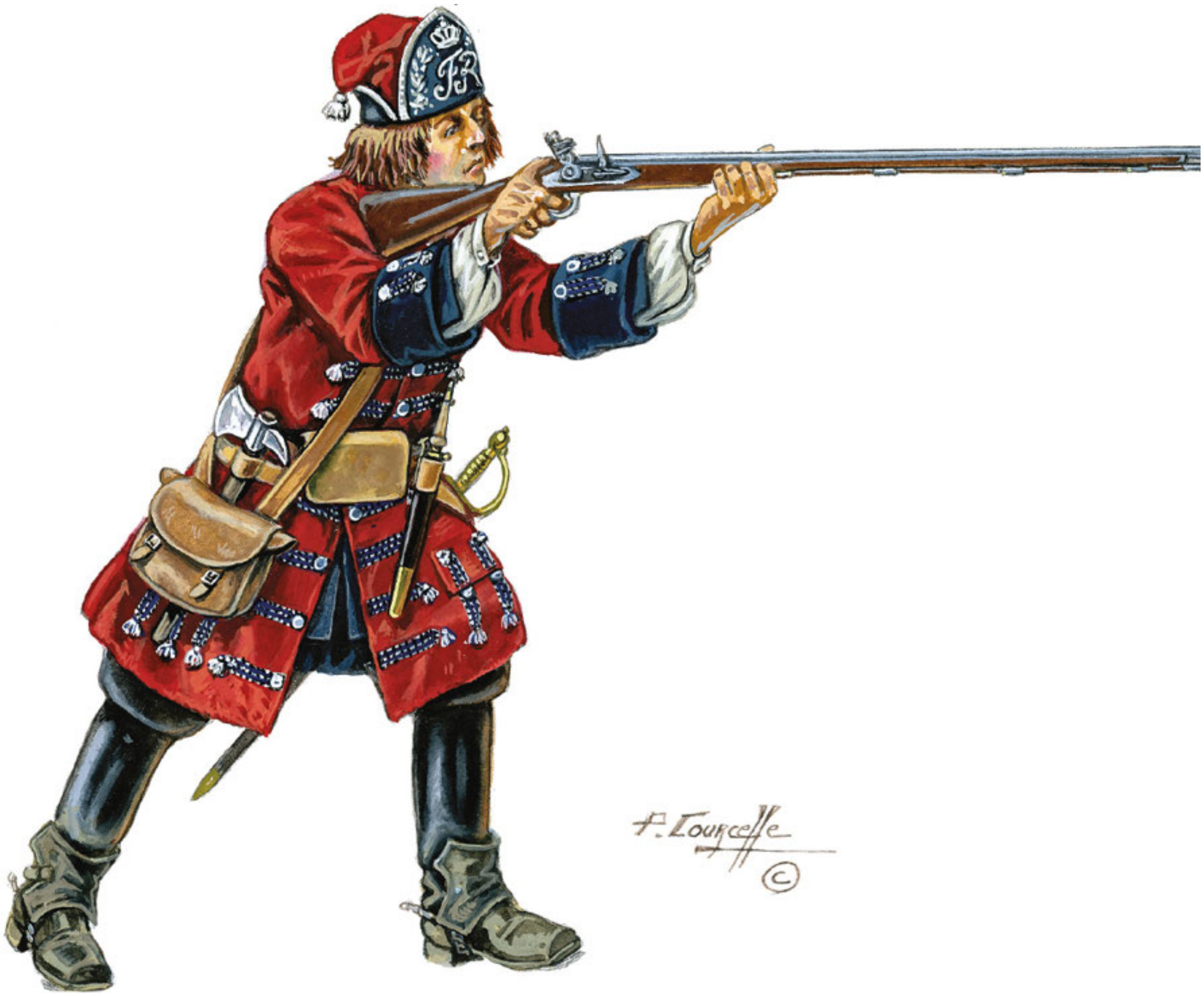
First Troop of Lifeguards

The gentlemen of the Lifeguards wore scarlet coats and cloaks, lined in blue with gold lace. Under the coat was a long buff waistcoat and scarlet breeches. Their carbine belts were blue velvet with silver lace edged in gold. The saddlecloths and holsters were scarlet, with the royal cypher and crown in silver edged in gold. They wore black hats with silver broad lace, while the officers wore crimson taffeta sashes around their waists. All troopers wore black tall thigh length black boots.



Cornet of First Troop of Lifeguards 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

The cornet was of crimson damask, fringed with silver and gold. On this field was the King's cypher of the gold crown with a silver scroll with the motto 'DIEU ET MON DROIT' in black silk. Under this were three lesser gold crowns. The trumpeters wore the royal livery; crimson velvet coats lined and faced in sky blue, heavily laced in gold and silver.



Horse Grenadier from the First Troop of the Lifeguards 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

The horse grenadiers wore red coats with blue facings and button loops tufted with yellow. Their caps were red, with blue lining, tufted with yellow. All troopers wore black thigh length boots.

Second Troop of Lifeguards

These gentlemen also wore scarlet coats and cloaks, but lined in green with gold lace. Under the coat were long buff waistcoats and green breeches. Their carbine belts were green velvet with silver lace edged in gold. The saddlecloths and holsters were green with the Royal cypher and crown in gold and silver. They wore black hats with yellow broad lace and officers had crimson taffeta sashes around their waists.

The cornet was of white damask, fringed with gold. On this field was the King's cypher of a large gold crown with two angels of silver. The right-hand angel held a sword, the left a palm branch. Under the cypher was '1685' in gold and under this was a golden scroll with the motto 'DIEU ET MON DROIT' in gold silk. Under this were three lesser gold crowns. The trumpeters wore the royal livery, being crimson velvet coats lined and faced in sky blue, heavily laced in gold and silver.

The horse grenadiers wore red coats with green facings and the button loops were tufted with black and white. Their caps were red, with green lining, edged in gold.

Third Troop of Lifeguards

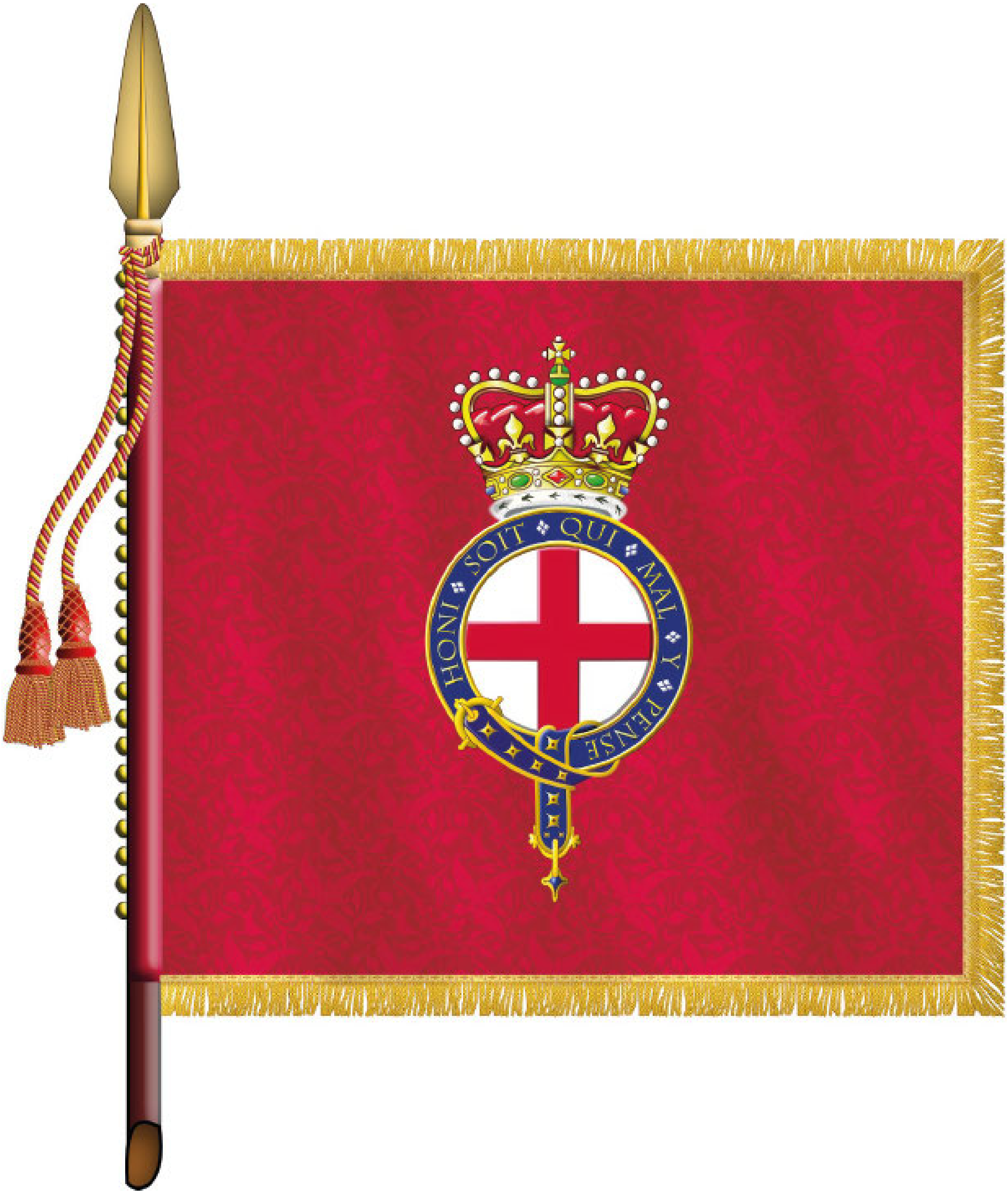
The gentlemen wore scarlet coats and cloaks, but lined in yellow with silver lace. Under the coat were long buff waistcoats and yellow breeches. Their carbine belts were silver velvet with yellow lace. The saddlecloths and holsters were yellow with the royal cypher and crown in gold and silver. The trumpeters wore the royal livery; crimson velvet coats lined and faced in sky blue, heavily laced in gold and silver.

The cornet was of yellow damask, fringed with silver and gold. On this field was the King’s cypher in silver with a large gold imperial crown and beneath this was a silver scroll with the motto ‘DIEU ET MON DROIT’ in gold silk. Under this were three lesser gold crowns.

The horse grenadiers wore red coats with yellow facings with white metal buttons and their button loops with tufted with black and white. Their caps were red, with yellow lining, tufted with silver lace.

Earl of Oxford’s Royal Regiment of Horse

The troopers wore blue coats with red facings, gold buttons and buff breeches. Over the coat was a back and breastplate and they wore a lobster-pot helmet. The carbine belt was buff laced with gold and a red edging. The officer’s coats had blue facings, with the captain’s having double gold lace on every seam and slit. Lieutenants and cornets had single lace, while the quartermaster had gold edging on the pockets and slits. Officers wore black hats edged with gold and one feather. The cravat ribbon was yellow. The trumpeters wore the royal livery, of crimson velvet coats lined and faced in sky blue, heavily laced in gold and silver. Horse cloths and holster cases were blue velvet with a silver twist.


HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

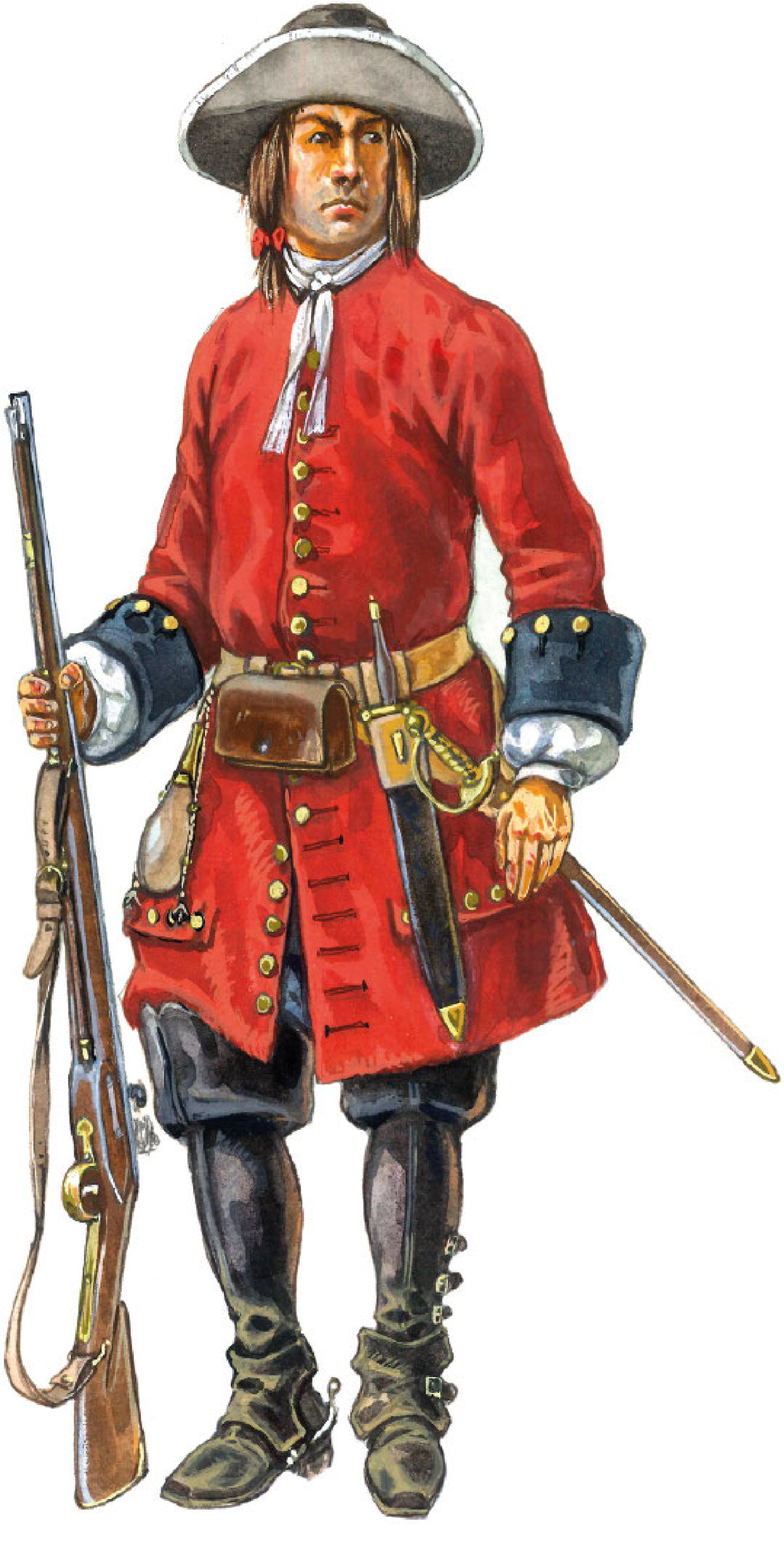
Fifth Captain’s Cornet of Royal Regiment of Horse 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Each troop had its own cornet design, all on crimson fields with gold fringes, cords and tassels. The King’s troop, or Parson’s, had a central crown, with the royal cypher in gold and a silver scroll with the black motto ‘DIEU ET MON DROIT’. The colonel’s guidon was the royal crest in gold, while Compton’s troop had a golden rose. Wyndham’s troop had a gold thistle with green leaves, Sandys’ a golden fleur-de-lys, Slingsby’s a gold harp, Cornewell’s the royal oak in gold, Littleton’s a golden portcullis and Adderley’s troop the cross of St George within a garter. All devices were surmounted by a golden royal crown.

Churchill’s Royal Regiment of Dragoons

The privates wore a red coat with blue facings, blue breeches and brass buttons. Their saddle cloths and holster caps were red with a yellow and blue lining. The musicians had blue coats with red facings and gold lining on the seams and cuff edges. Each man had a long carbine, a pair of pistols, a cartridge box, a bayonet and a sword.

Each troop of dragoons had a round-tailed guidon of crimson damask with fringes and tassels of crimson and silver. Each troop had its own badge, surmounted by a golden crown. The colonel’s badge may have had either King James’ or the late King Charles’ cypher. The lieutenant colonel’s badge was a gold escutcheon, the first captain’s badge was two silver ostrich feathers in saltire; second captain’s badge was a rose and pomegranate, impaled leaves and a green stalk; the third captain’s was the rays of the sun issuing from a cloud; the fourth was the beacon and flames; the fifth a tiger passant guardant with flames issuing from its mouth, covered in roundels of black, yellow and red standing on a green mount; the sixth captain’s badge was a phoenix in flames.



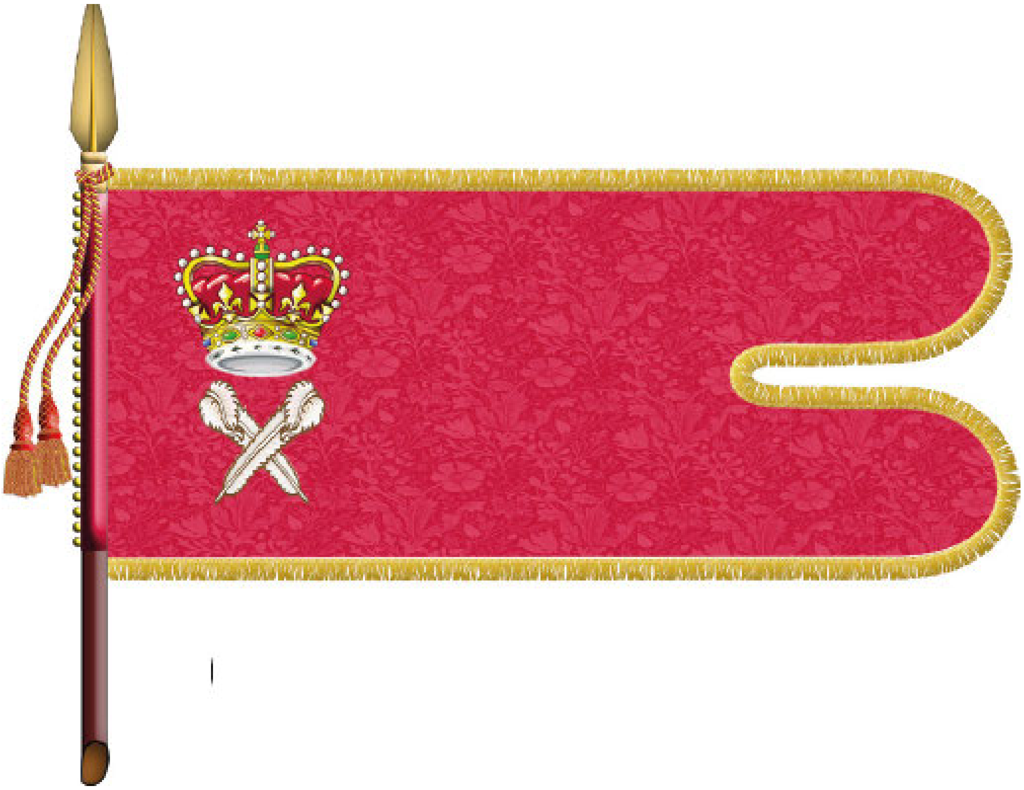
Trooper from the Royal Regiment of Dragoons 1685. (Plate from Perfection of Military Discipline, Helion & Company, 2020)

Independent Troops of Horse

The uniform of these units is unknown, but it would be safe to assume the officers wore red coats as per the lifeguards, while the troops were in a mixture of civilian coats and wide-brimmed hats.

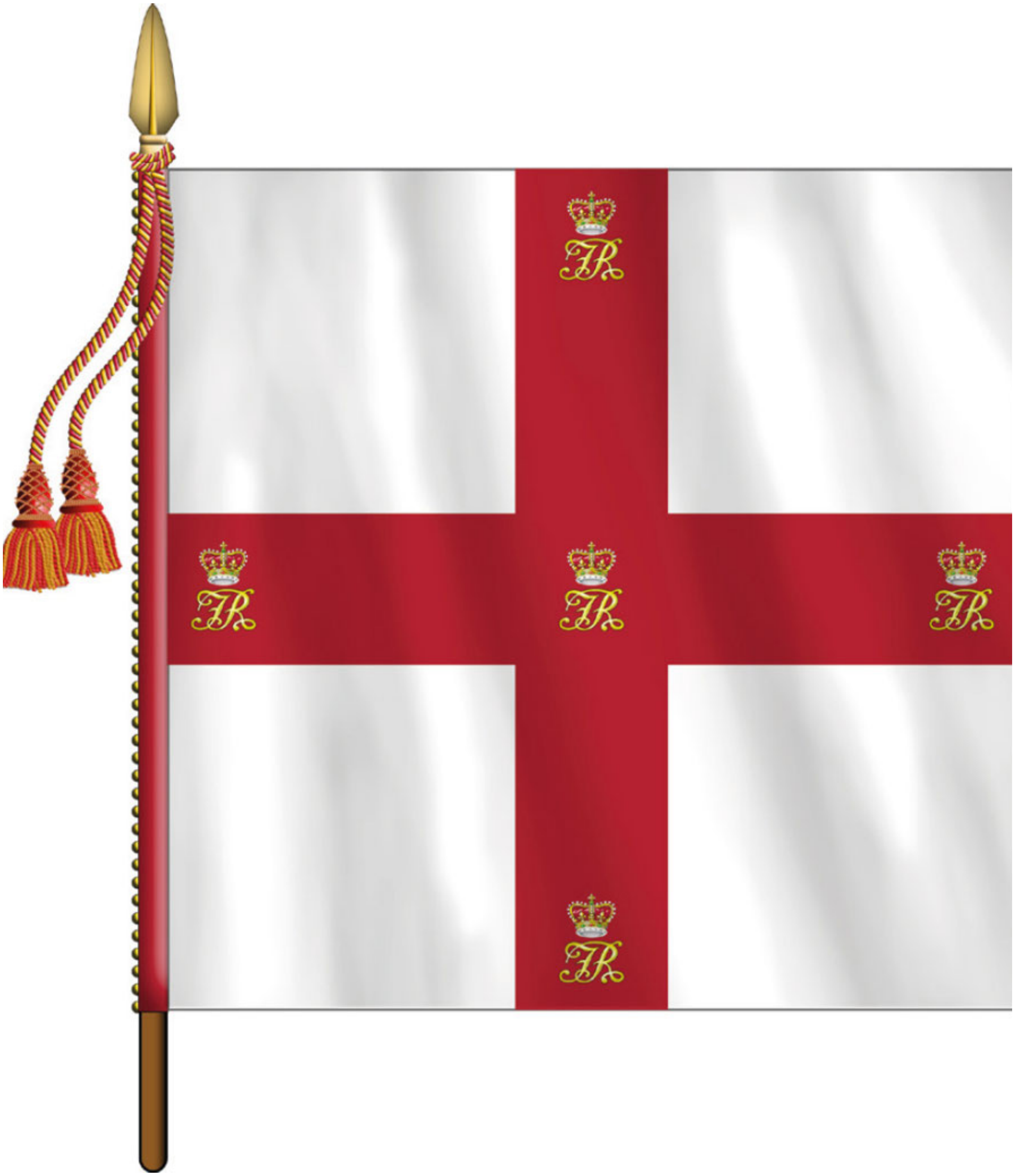
Duke of Grafton’s First Regiment of Foot Guards

The guardsmen wore red coats, lined and faced in blue with pewter buttons, blue breeches, blue waistcoats and blue stockings. The pikemen had polished back and breastplates, with white silk sashes around their waists. They wore black broad-brimmed hats, with silver lace and a blue band. The officers could be wearing a mixture of gold, crimson or red coats with massive amounts of gold lace, with white or crimson sashes, some with polished cuirasses.



Colonel’s Guidon of Royal Regiment of Dragoons 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

The grenadiers wore red coats lined and faced in blue with pewter buttons, blue breeches, blue waistcoats and blue stockings. These had caps of red cloth with a blue facing, laced with silver on the edges. On the front of the caps was the King’s cypher and crown.



Third Captain’s colour First Regiment of Foot Guards 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

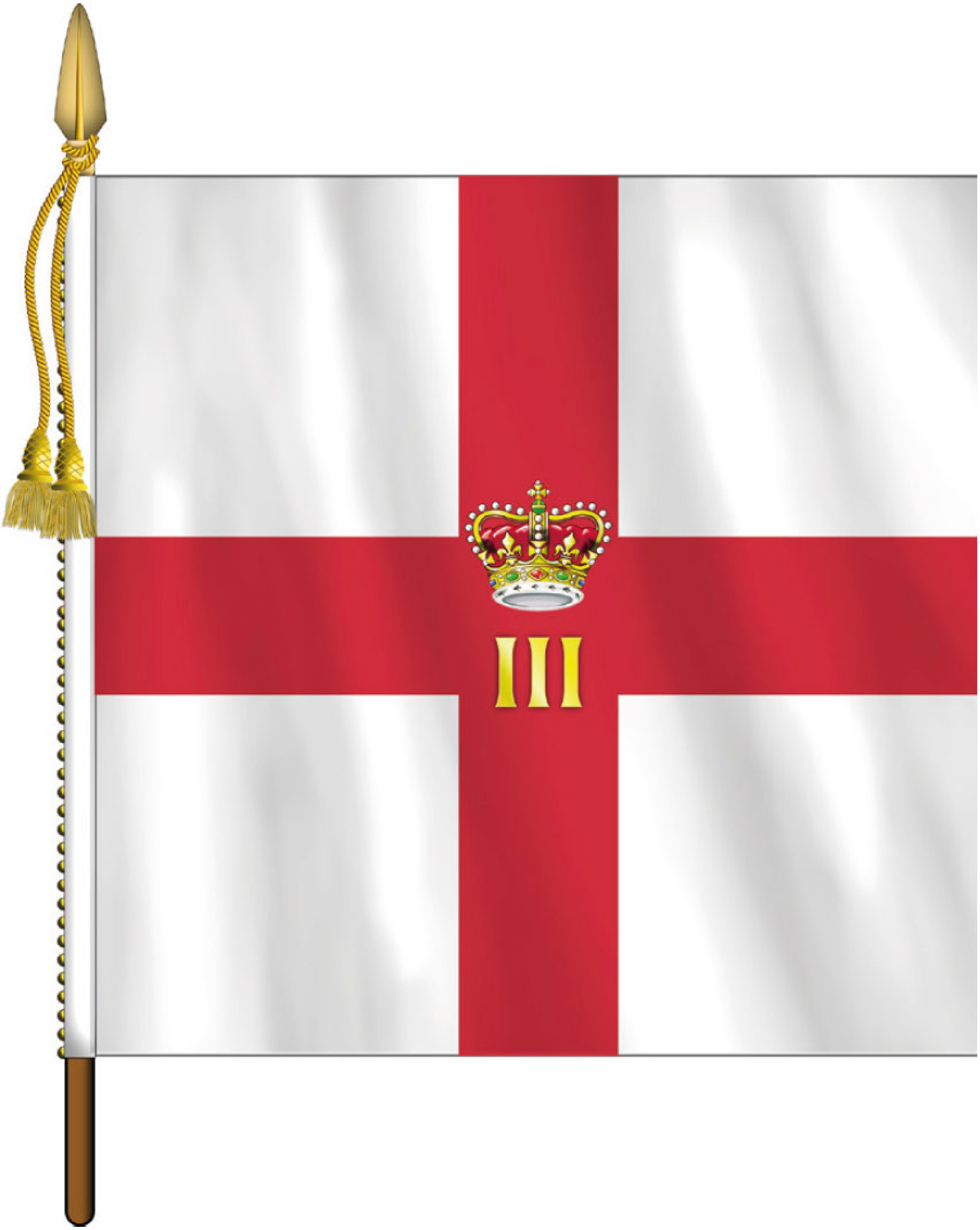
The colonel’s colour was plain crimson taffeta with no other cyphers. The other colours were made of white taffeta with a broad crimson cross of Saint George. The lieutenant colonel’s colour had a golden crown in the centre. The major’s colour was the same with a crimson ‘pile wavy’ in the upper canton. The first captain’s colour had the King’s cypher with a single golden imperial crown above the JR. The second captain’s colour had two cyphers and crowns, the third captain had three cyphers and crowns and so on for each company.

The drummers wore the royal livery, which was a scarlet coat, lined and faced with sky blue, with gold and silver lace on all the seams, edges, buttonholes and pockets. The front and back of the coats had the King’s cypher embroidered in gold. The breeches and stockings were blue, with blue ribbon on the shoes. The hat was black edged in gold and silver lace. All buttons were gold. The drums were crimson with the royal arms painted on the front.

Earl of Craven’s Coldstream or Second Regiment of Foot Guards

In 1684 the regiment was described as wearing red coats with green facings. However, in the accounts of King James II’s coronation, the guardsmen wore red coats, lined and faced in blue with gold buttons, red breeches, red waistcoats and red stockings. The pikemen had polished back and breastplates, with white silk sashes around their waists. They wore black wide-brimmed hats, with gold lace and a red band. The officers would be wearing a mixture of gold, crimson or red coats with excessive amounts of gold lace, with white or crimson sashes and some would have equipped themselves with polished cuirasses.

The grenadiers wore red coats lined and faced in blue with gold buttons, red breeches, red waistcoats and red stockings. They had caps of red cloth with a blue facing, laced with gold on the edges. On the front of the caps was the King’s cypher and crown.



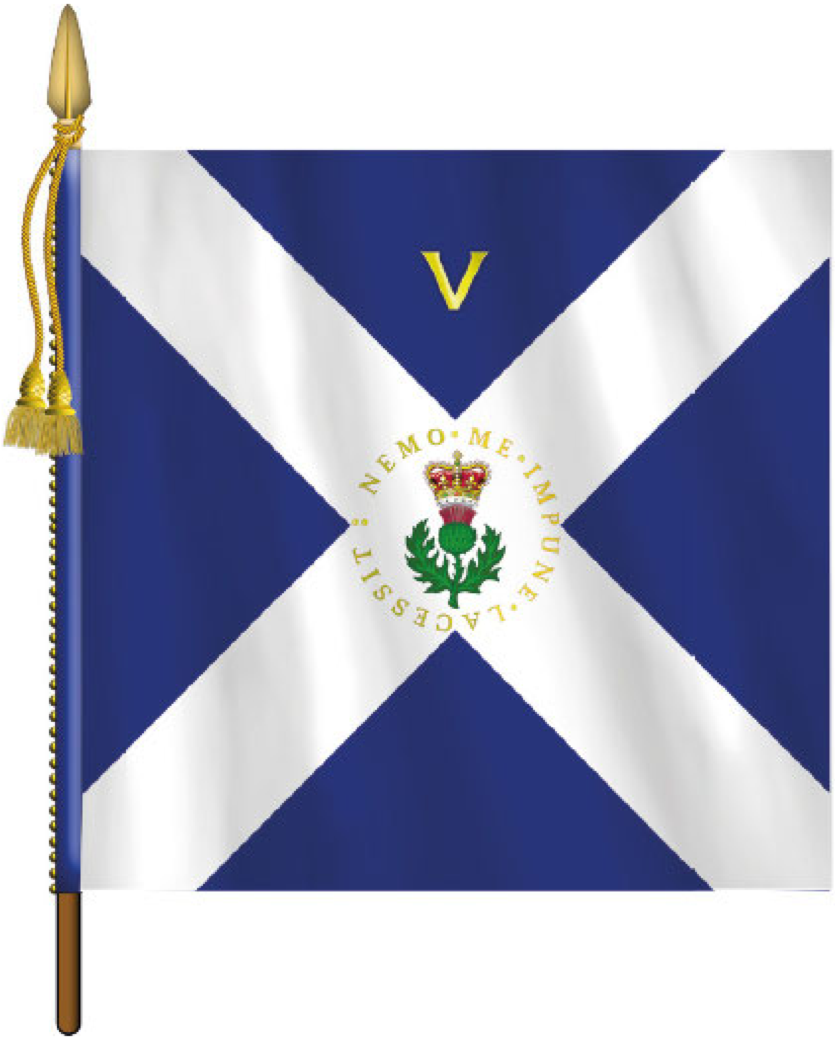
Fifth Captain’s colour Second Regiment of Foot Guards 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

The colonel’s colour was plain white taffeta with no badges. The other colours were of white taffeta with a broad crimson cross of St George. The lieutenant colonel’s colour had no other marks. The major’s colour was the same but with a crimson ‘pile wavy’ in the upper canton. The first captain’s colour had a golden imperial crown, with the Roman numeral ‘I’. The second captain’s colour was the same with a Roman ‘II’, the third captain had a Roman ‘III’ and so on for each company.

The drummers wore the royal livery; a crimson coat, lined and faced with sky blue with gold and silver lace on all the seams, edges, buttonholes and pockets. The front and back of the coats had the King’s cypher embroidered in gold. The breeches and stockings were blue, with blue ribbon on the shoes. The broad-brimmed hat was black edged in gold and silver lace. All buttons were gold. The drums were crimson with the royal arms painted on the front.

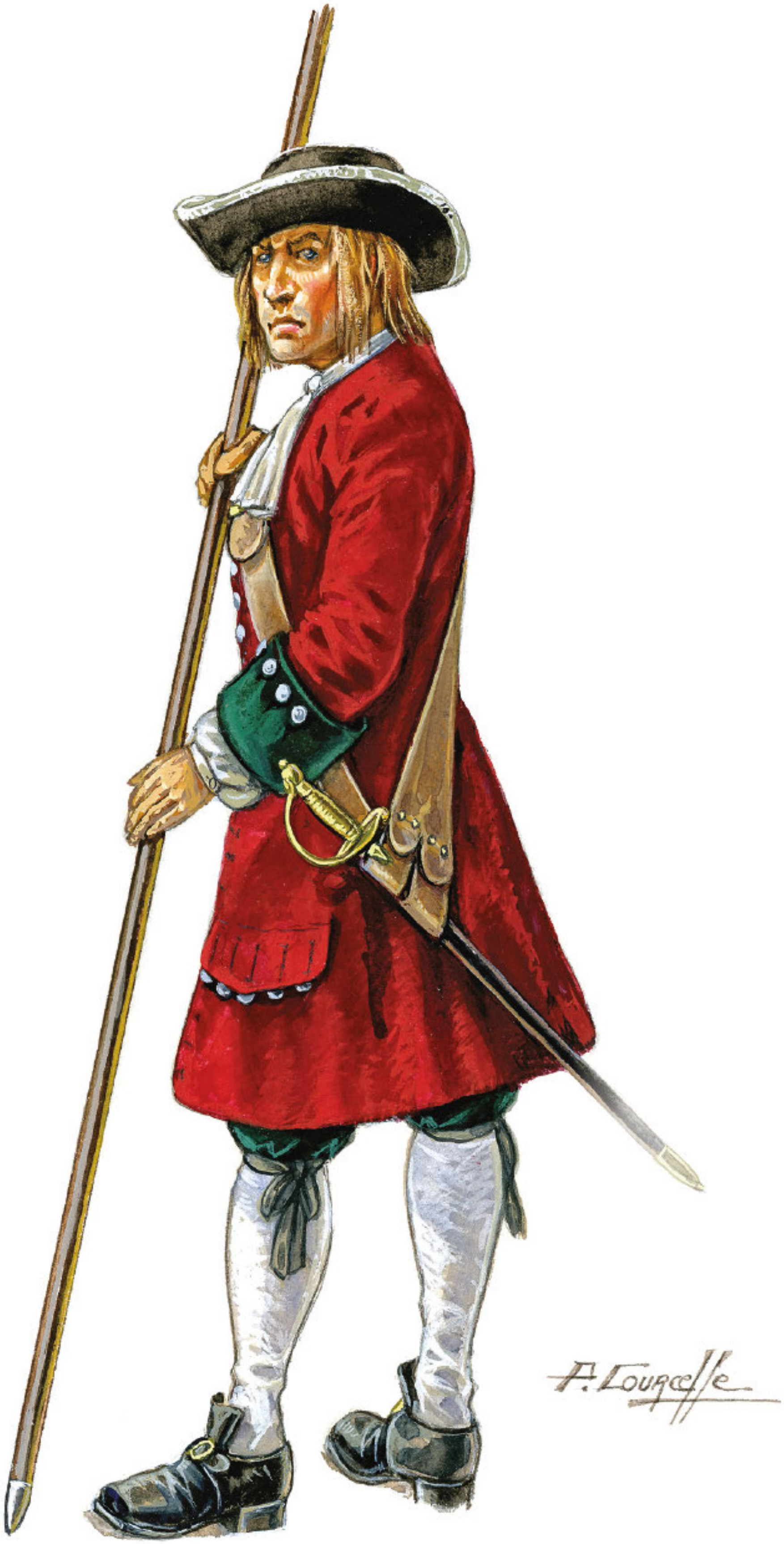
Lord Douglas’ Royal Regiment of Foot or the Royal Scots

The soldiers wore red coats lined in white with pewter buttons, plus off-white or grey breeches, waistcoats and stockings. Hats were black, with white lining and hat band. The grenadiers’ red coats had white and blue button lace and they wore red caps. These had white trim with a golden lion embroidered on the face. The drummers wore white coats with red facings and gold lace.



15th Captain's colour Royal Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

The colonel's colour was a plain white field with a thistle capped by a crown, with the motto 'NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT' in the centre. The lieutenant colonel's colour was a blue field with a white Saint Andrew's cross, with the same device as the colonel's colour in the centre. The major's colour was the same as the lieutenant colonel but with a red 'pile wavy' in the upper corner. The first captain's colour was the same as the lieutenant colonel's but with a silver Roman numeral 'I' in the blue field above the device. The second captain was the same with a Roman ‘II’, the third captain’s had a Roman ‘III’ and so on.

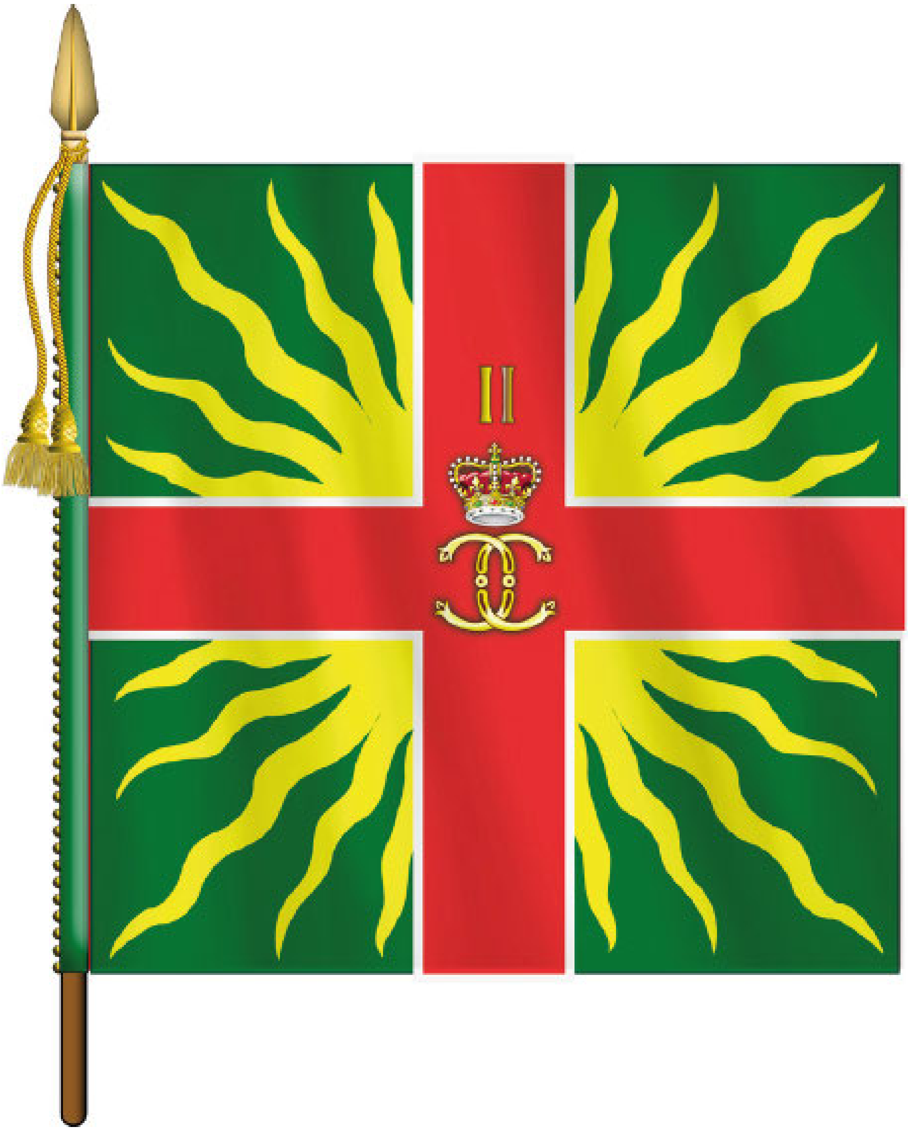

P. Courcelle

Pikeman from the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Colonel Kirke's, the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot

The soldiers of this regiment wore red coats with green facings, pewter buttons, white stockings, green breeches and matching green waistcoats. Drummers had green coats, with red facings and silver lace on the coat seams. All soldiers had black wide-brimmed hats, lined in white with a green hat band. According to the ordnance returns, each company was armed with six firelocks, 28 matchlocks and 16 pikes. Captain Matthews' grenadier company had red caps edged with brown fur, with white and green lace.

Each company has a colour, with the colonel's being a sea-green field with the Queen Dowager's cypher in gold in the centre. The lieutenant colonel's colour also had a sea-green field overlaid with a red cross of St George edged in white, in the centre was the Queen Dowager's cypher with five golden rays issuing from the centre. The major's colour was the same as the lieutenant colonel's with the addition of a golden 'pile wavy'. The captains had the same colours as the Lieutenant Colonel's colour, but with a Roman numeral in silver for each company's seniority placed above the cypher.



Second Captain's colour Queen Dowager's Regiment of Foot 1685.
(Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Colonel Trelawny's Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot

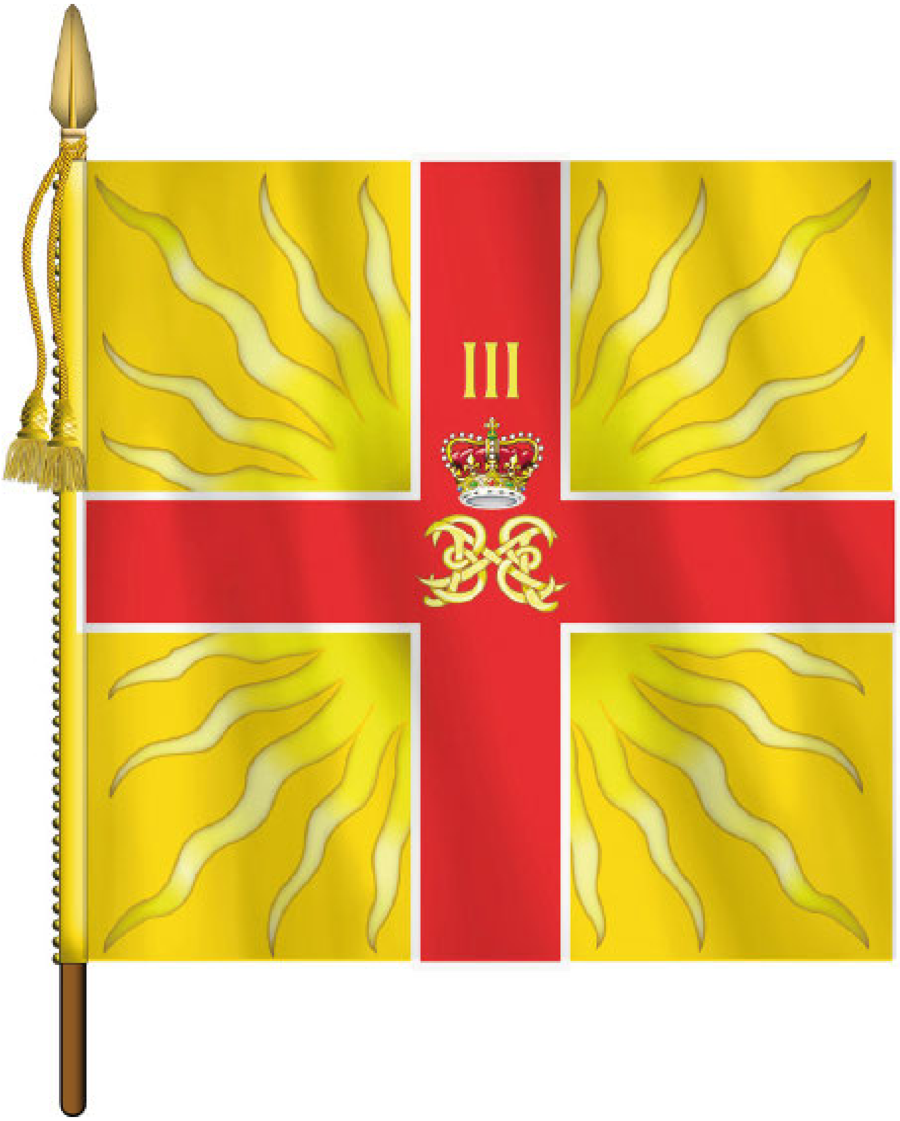
Each soldier wore a red coat with yellow facings, brass buttons, white stockings, yellow breeches and a matching waistcoat. The drummers have yellow coats with red facings and gold lace on the seams.

Captain Johnson’s grenadier caps may have been red with a yellow facing colour, possibly faced with fur.

The regiment’s colours were yellow silk with the red cross of Saint George, bordered in white. The lieutenant colonel’s colour had three rays of the sun issuing from the angles of the cross. Each captain had the Queen’s royal cypher in the centre capped by a crown and company number under the cypher. It is not clear if the regimental colour had changed to a white field with black eagles in each quarter at the time of the campaign.

Scots Brigade in Dutch Service

These regiment wore coats of madder red, with pale blue facings or madder red for Balfour’s. They carried colours in the form of the Saint Andrew’s cross, with Mackay’s having a red field, while Balfour’s and Wauchope’s both had a blue field. The devices were possibly similar to those used by Lord Douglas’s regiment.



Third Captain's colour Queen Consort's Regiment of Foot 1685.
(Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

English Artillery Crews

The English comptrollers and commissionaires were civilians and would be well dressed in coats of various styles, with lacing, wide-brimmed hats and shoes. The master gunners and matrosses wore red coats with red lining, red leather caps and stockings, with black shoes. The undress uniform for the matrosses may have been red and white stripped jackets with blue stockings.

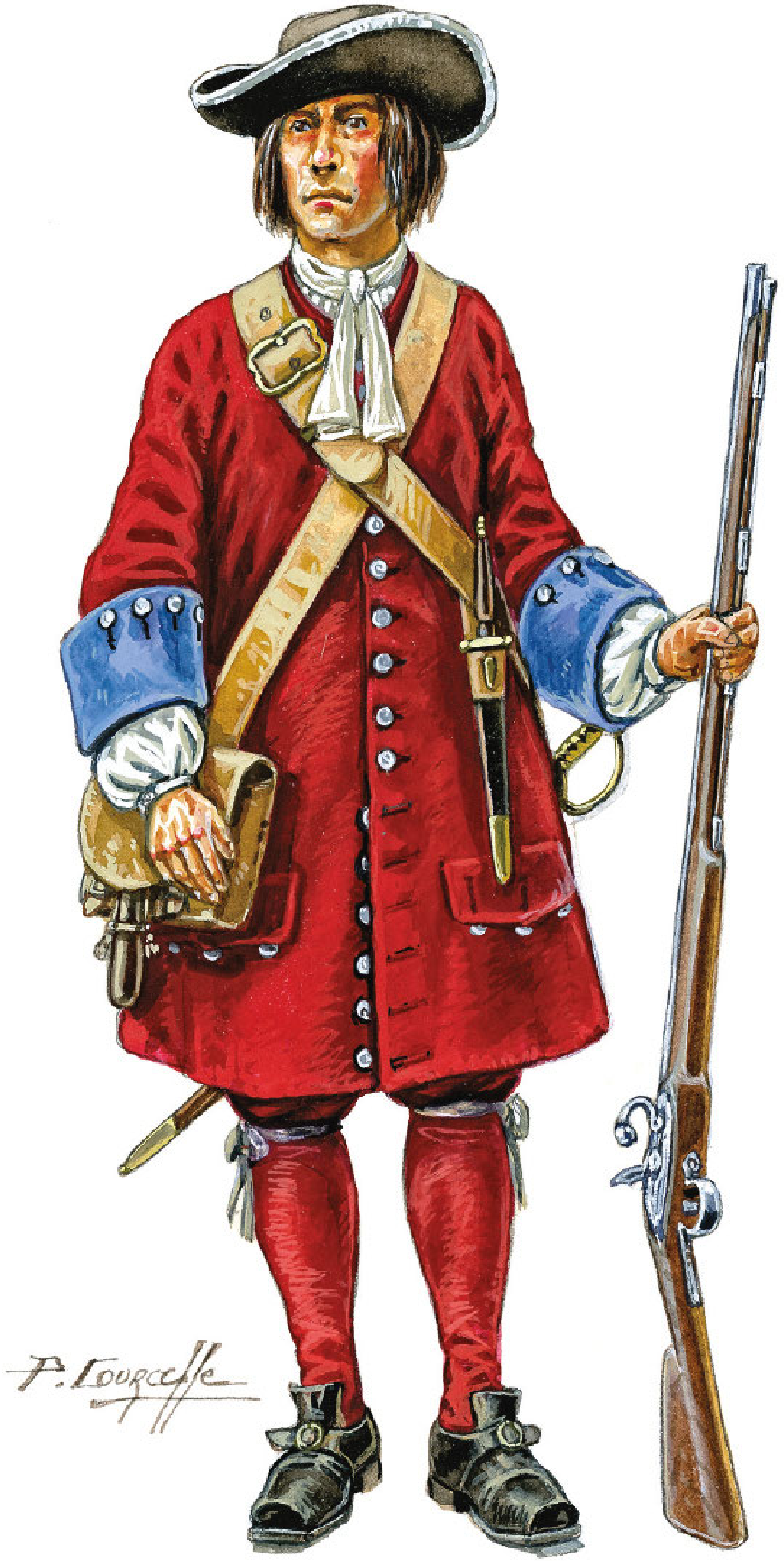
English Pioneer Foot

The company of pioneers may have worn red coats lined with red, red breeches and red caps.

English Militia Foot

The soldiers wore regimental coats of red lined in yellow or possibly of the regimental colour. However, Luttrell's Somerset militia may have worn blue coats with red facings, while Sir William Portman's Dorset regiment was described wearing yellow coats. The Flintshire militia had red coats with red facings and Brecknockshire had bluecoats with red stockings but carried green colours. The Glamorganshire militia wore purple coats, with red facings and red stockings.

Each company would have an ensign who bore the regimental colour, for example white, red, yellow, orange, green or blue. These colours probably followed the standard practice of the colonel's, being a plain field, then the Lieutenant Colonel's colour had a white box with a red Saint George's cross in the upper left canton, with a device in the centre. The major's colour would be the same with a 'pile wavy' from the corner of the cross. The first captain's colour would be the same as the Lieutenant Colonel’s with the device and a Roman ‘I’ and so on.


P. Courcelle

Musketeers from the Mackay’s Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

English Militia Horse

The militia cavalry would have been wearing a uniform coat possibly of red, with either red or yellow facings, with a varied mixture of breeches and boots. Their black hat would probably have had a hatband of the facing colour and from a distance, each troop would look like regular soldiers. However, the Glamorganshire troop wore purple coats, with red lining and carried a cornet with a scroll and motto ‘ALTERA SECURITAS’. Therefore, like their infantry counterparts, each troop may have been clothed in different coat colours.

Scottish Whig Army

Whig Dragoons

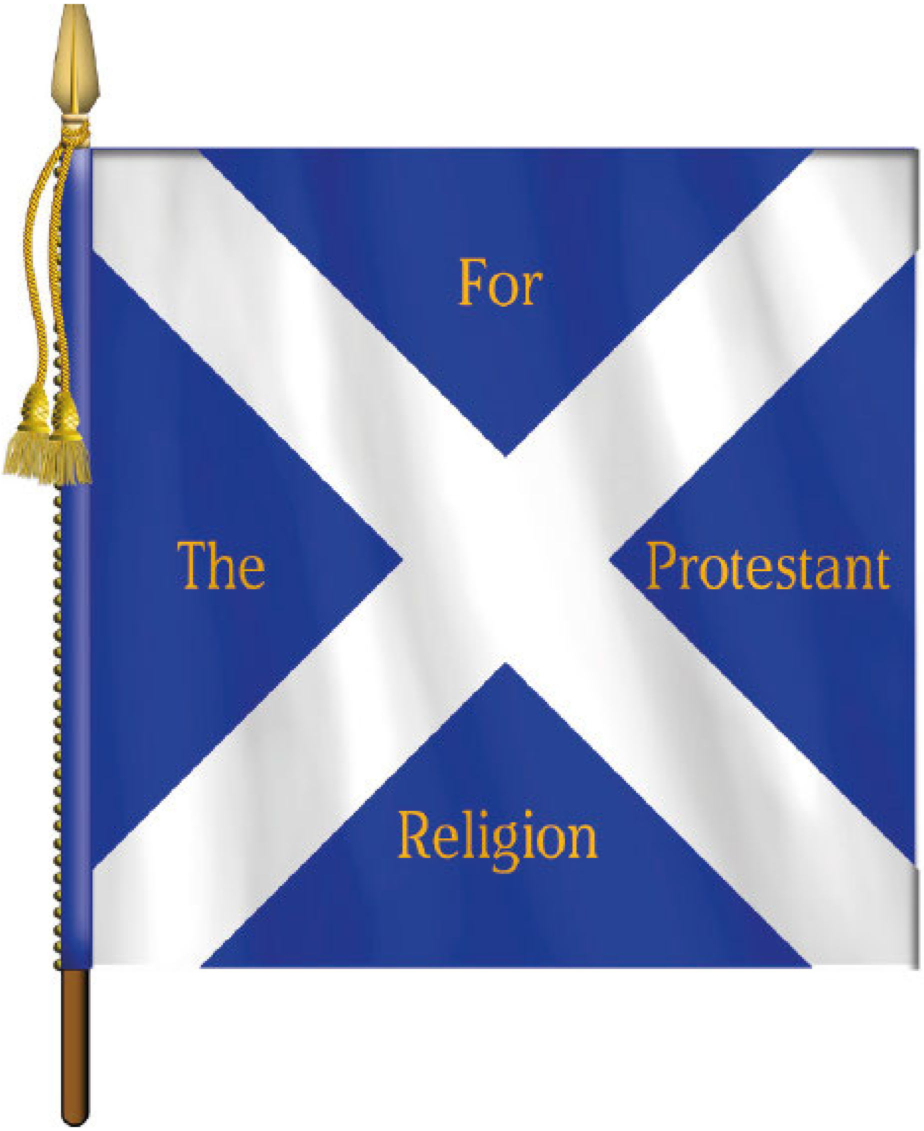
They would be better dressed than most of the Covenanter mob, with very few in blue bonnets. Instead they would be wearing smart civilian coats, with wide brimmed hats. Some of the soldiers but all the officers and NCOs would have been wearing the purple coats, lined in red. They wore a mixture of riding boot styles.

Whig Retainer Horse

They would be dressed in a mixture of Highland trews and smart civilian coats, with hats with the odd bluebonnet.

Company Colours

Each company carried a colour and several of these were captured at Eilean Dearg. One was blue with a white cross of Saint Andrew with the motto ‘God Forward Us’ and the other was white with a black cross of St Andrew with the motto ‘From Popery, Heresy and Seizure, Good Lord Deliver Us’.

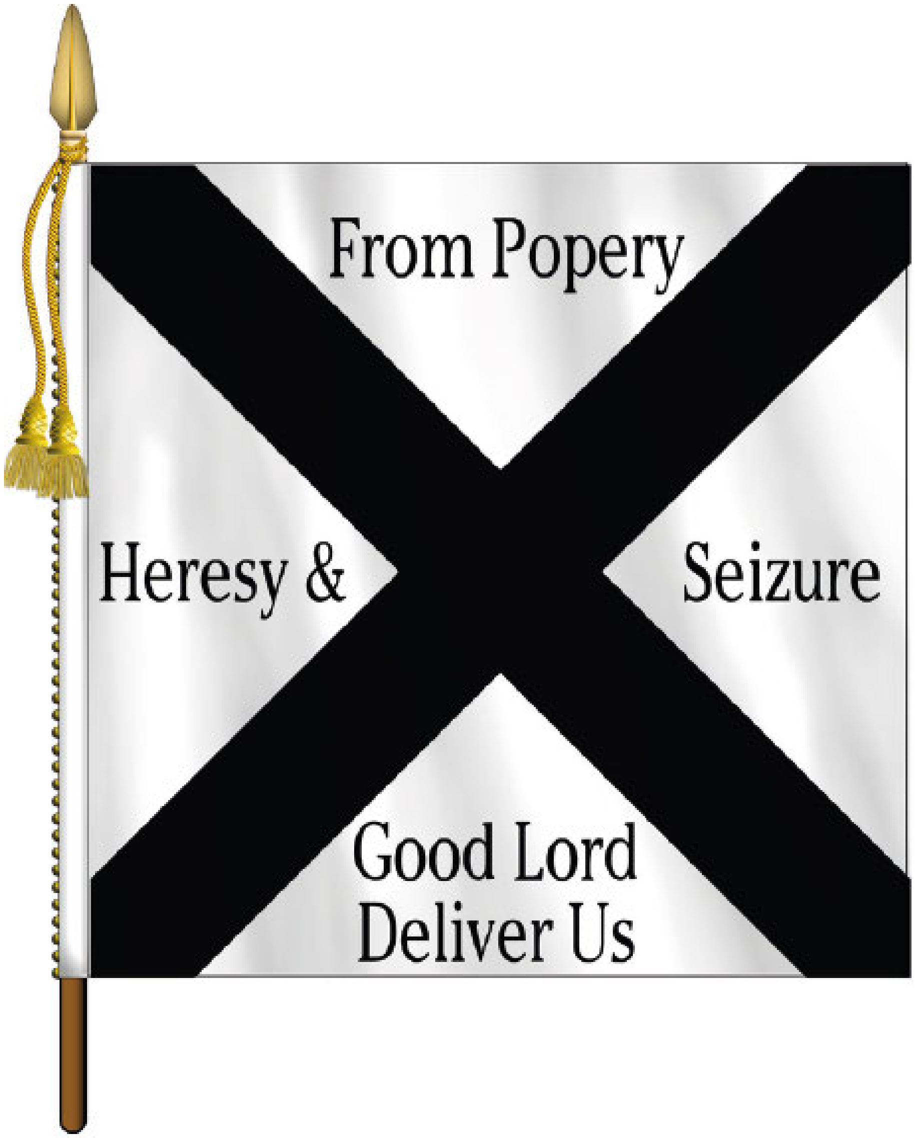


Colour of Captain Henderson's Company of veteran foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

It must be assumed that Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck's Regiment of Foot laird's company carried the Campbell colours of black and yellow, while Henderson's had the motto 'for the Protestant Religion' possibly on the blue and white cross of St Andrew.

It is probable that Colonel Robert Elphinson of Lapness's Regiment of Foot laird's company carried the Campbell colours of black and yellow or those of Lapness. Denham's company colour had the motto 'Against Popery, Prelacy and Erastianism', possibly upon a blue and white cross of St Andrew.

In Colonel John Ayloffe's Regiment of Foot Captain Hume's company colour had the motto 'For God and Religion against Popery, Tyranny, Arbitrary Government and Erastianism' split across the four angles of the blue and white cross of Saint Andrew.


From Popery
Heresy &
Seizure
Good Lord
Deliver Us

Whig Colour captured at Eilean Dearg, possibly Captain Denham's Company 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Whig Veteran Foot

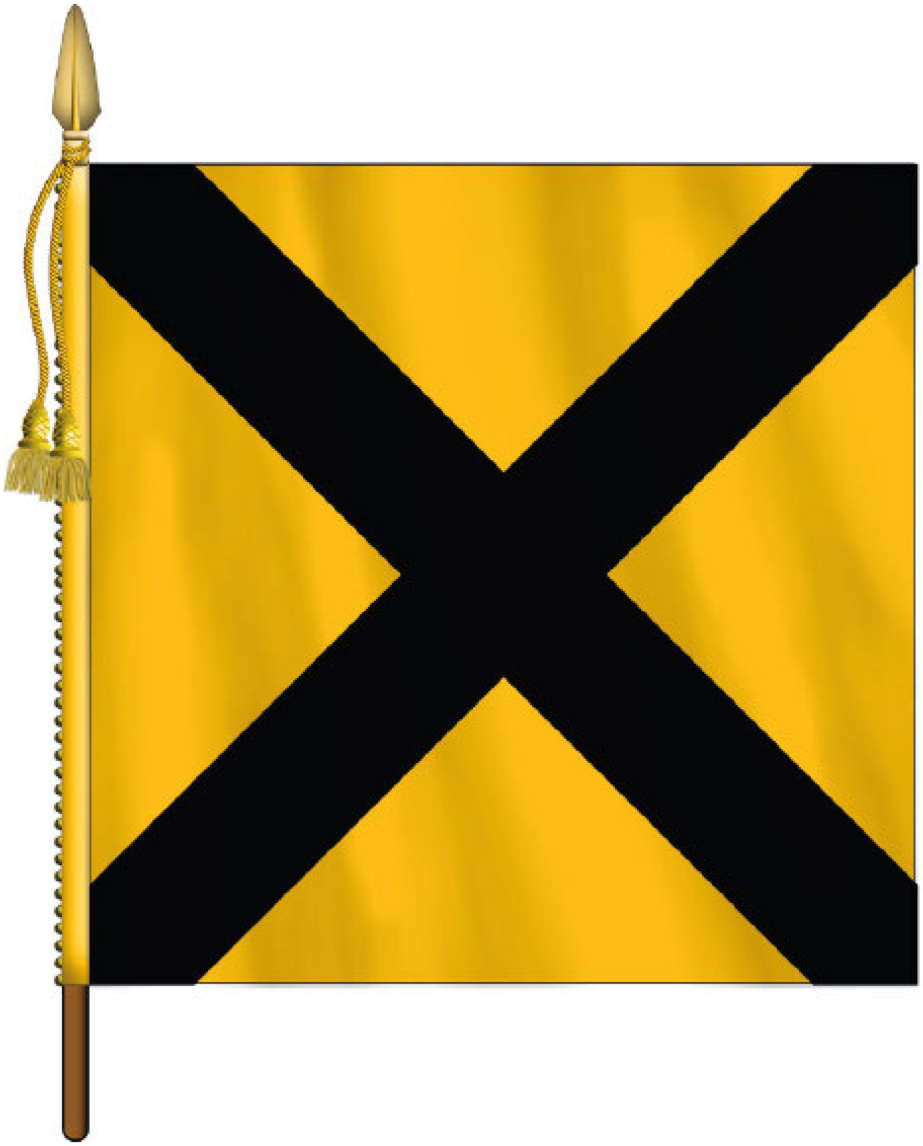
The veteran companies could be identified by a smattering of purple coats lined in red within the ranks. However, there would also be a number in civilian coats and even some Dutch or Brandenburg military coats. Most of them would have wide-brimmed hats, but there would also be a few bluebonnets in evidence.

Whig Laird’s Foot

These soldiers were well clothed and some could appear in Lowland civilian coats, but most wore good quality Highland garb, with trews or plaid in bright colours, all with the bluebonnet. The NCOs could be in purple coats lined in red.

Whig Highland Foot

As classic Highlanders, they would be in a blend of plaid, shirts or old-fashioned doublets and breeches. The majority would be in faded blue bonnets, with the rest in a combination of woollen or brimmed hats.



Colonel’s Colour of Auchinbreck’s Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

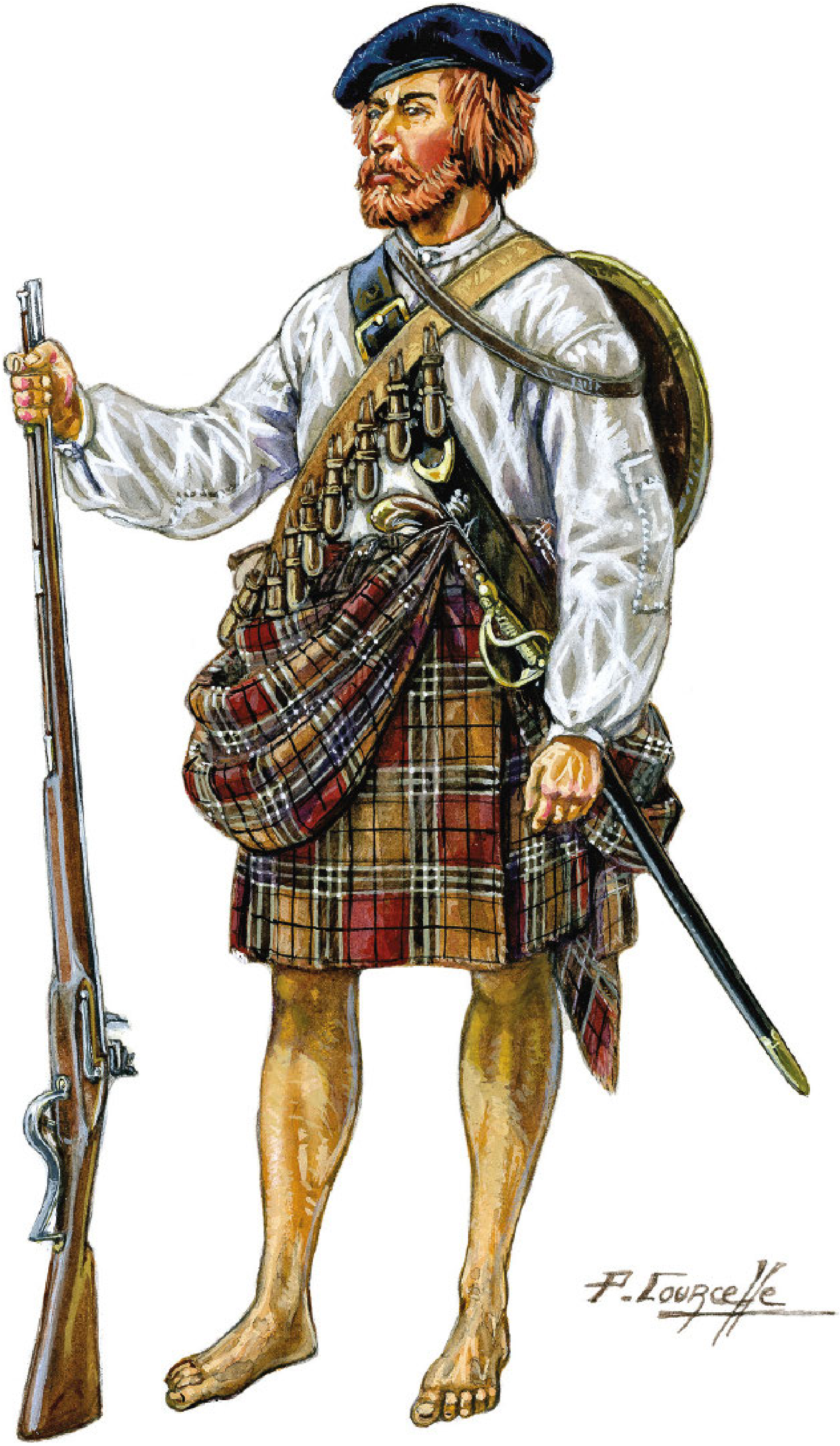
Whig Lowland Foot

There would be a smattering of old grey uniforms or militia coats, but most would be in civilian clothes. The NCOs would wearing purple coats with red lining.

Whig Covenanter Mob

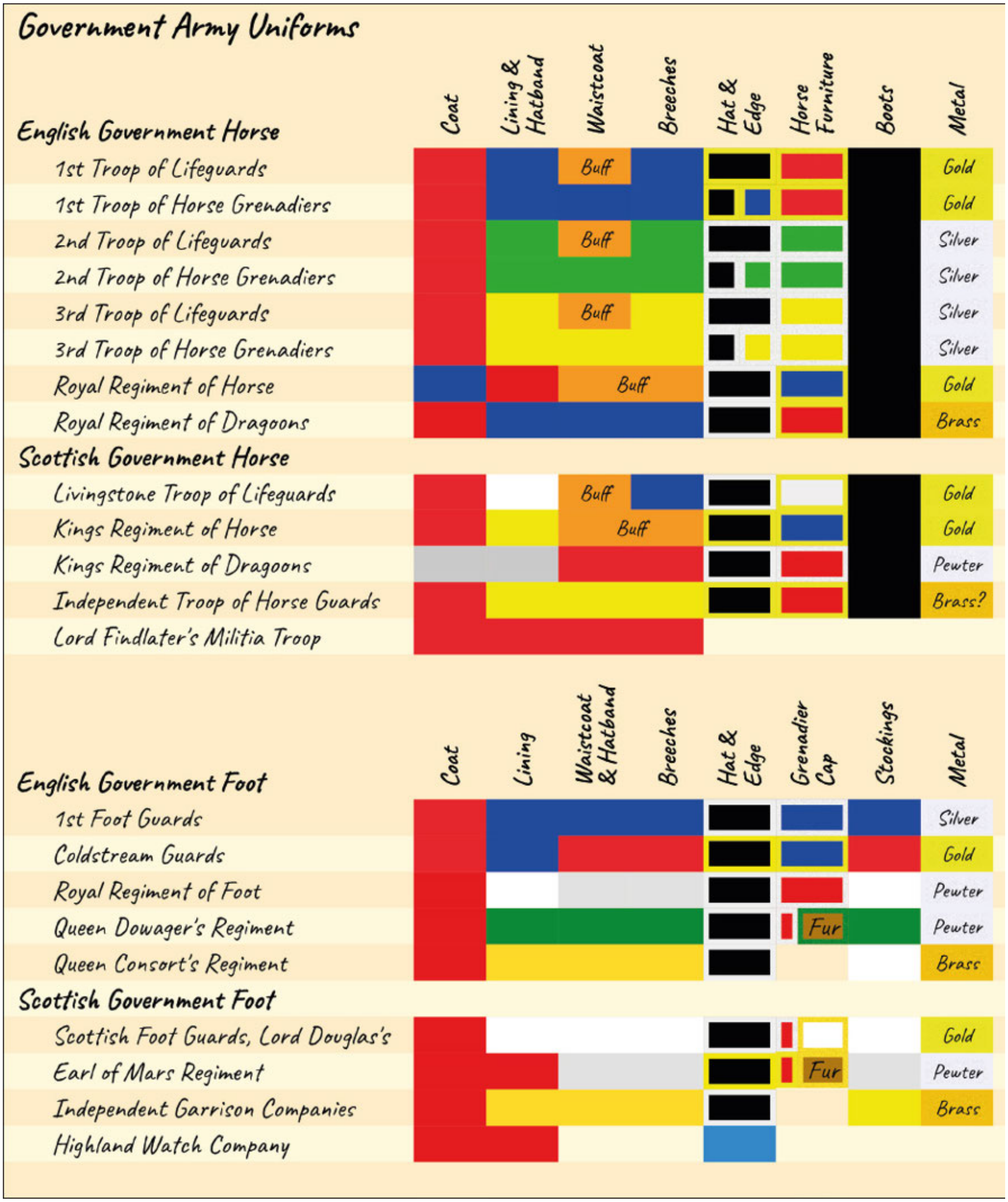
Within these Covenanter mobs there would be a smattering of old grey uniforms or red militia coats, but most would be wearing civilian clothes. The majority have brimmed civilian hats, but there would be a smattering of bluebonnets.

Ship’s Artillery Crews



F. Courcelle

Highland Soldier in the Whig Army in 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)



Government Army Uniforms

English Government Horse	Coat	Lining & Hatband	Waistcoat	Breeches	Hat & Edge	Horse Furniture	Boots	Metal
1st Troop of Lifeguards	🟥	🟦	🟧 Buff	🟦	⬛	🟥	⬛	Gold
1st Troop of Horse Grenadiers	🟥	🟦	🟦	🟦	⬛ 🟦	🟥	⬛	Gold
2nd Troop of Lifeguards	🟥	🟩	🟧 Buff	🟩	⬛	🟩	⬛	Silver
2nd Troop of Horse Grenadiers	🟥	🟩	🟩	🟩	⬛ 🟩	🟩	⬛	Silver
3rd Troop of Lifeguards	🟥	🟨	🟧 Buff	🟨	⬛	🟨	⬛	Silver
3rd Troop of Horse Grenadiers	🟥	🟨	🟨	🟨	⬛ 🟨	🟨	⬛	Silver
Royal Regiment of Horse	🟦	🟥	🟧 Buff	🟧	⬛	🟦	⬛	Gold
Royal Regiment of Dragoons	🟥	🟦	🟦	🟦	⬛	🟥	⬛	Brass
Scottish Government Horse								
Livingstone Troop of Lifeguards	🟥	⬜	🟧 Buff	🟦	⬛	⬜	⬛	Gold
Kings Regiment of Horse	🟥	🟨	🟧 Buff	🟧	⬛	🟦	⬛	Gold
Kings Regiment of Dragoons	▒	▒	🟥	🟥	⬛	🟥	⬛	Pewter
Independent Troop of Horse Guards	🟥	🟨	🟨	🟨	⬛	🟥	⬛	Brass?
Lord Findlater's Militia Troop	🟥	🟥	🟥	🟥				

English Government Foot	Coat	Lining	Waistcoat & Hatband	Breeches	Hat & Edge	Grenadier Cap	Stockings	Metal
1st Foot Guards	🟥	🟦	🟦	🟦	⬛	🟦	🟦	Silver
Coldstream Guards	🟥	🟦	🟥	🟥	⬛	🟦	🟥	Gold
Royal Regiment of Foot	🟥	⬜	▒	▒	⬛	🟥	⬜	Pewter
Queen Dowager's Regiment	🟥	🟩	🟩	🟩	⬛	🟥 🟫 Fur	🟩	Pewter
Queen Consort's Regiment	🟥	🟨	🟨	🟨	⬛		⬜	Brass
Scottish Government Foot								
Scottish Foot Guards, Lord Douglas's	🟥	⬜	⬜	⬜	⬛	🟥 ⬜	⬜	Gold
Earl of Mars Regiment	🟥	🟥	▒	▒	⬛	🟥 🟫 Fur	▒	Pewter
Independent Garrison Companies	🟥	🟨	🟨	🟨	⬛		🟨	Brass
Highland Watch Company	🟥	🟥			🟦			

The officers would be wearing smart civilian coats and hats, while the crew would be in shirts or more likely untidy coats with caps and a few brimmed hats.

English Whig Army

Whig Lifeguard Horse

This contained the noblest cavaliers from the regular troops and each gentleman would have a purple coat lined red, back and breastplates and a pot helmet. They would have good swords, double-barrelled carbines, quad-barrelled pistols, plus an extra pistol or two and they had the best military horses. They should carry the white guidon, fringed in gold with ‘JR’ emblazoned in the centre.

Whig Regular Horse

Over their purple coats lined in red or civilian coats, they could be wearing cuirasses and would be seen in a mixture of pot helmets and brimmed hats. If possible, green foliage would be in the hat or a green ribbon tied around the arm as a field sign. The troops do not appear to have carried guidons.

Whig Volunteer Horse

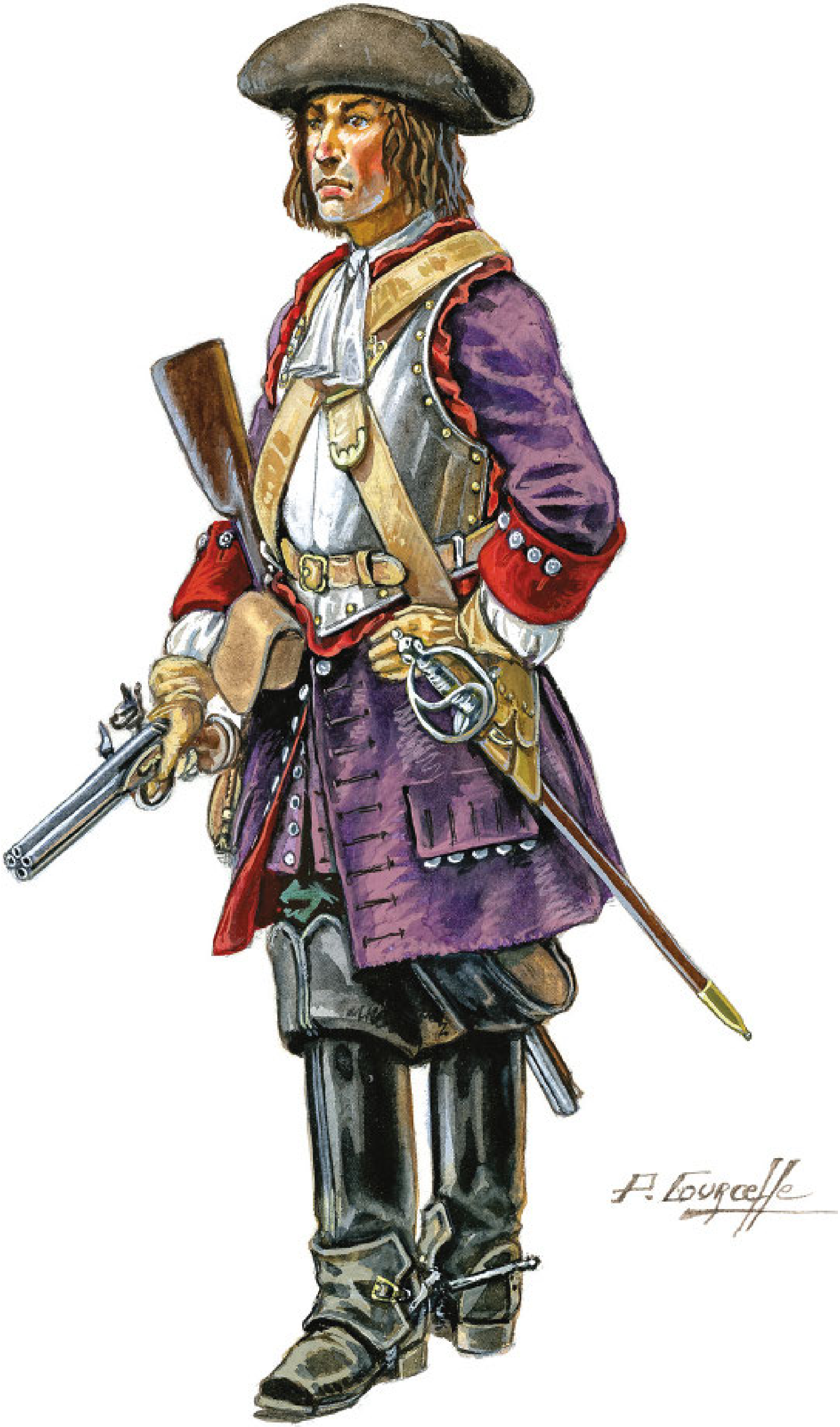
A few of the officers would have purple coats, but the bulk of the men would be in civilian coats, breeches and a mixture of boots and shoes. Their brimmed hats would be of sombre colours, some in the Monmouth cock, each with a green field sign. The troops do not appear to have carried guidons.

Whig Company Colours

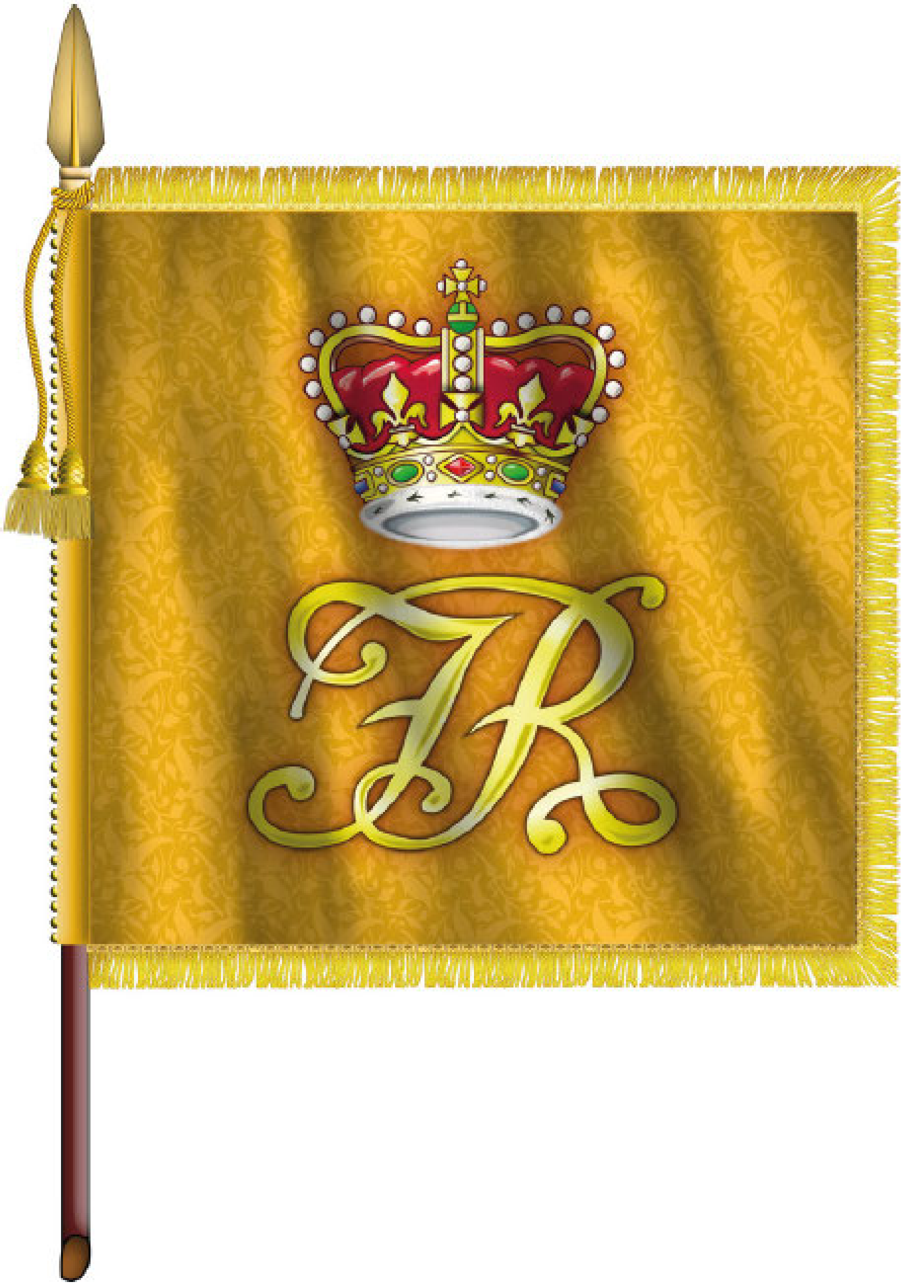
Like the militia, the English Whig regiments, appear to be named after the colour of their flags, these being Red, Blue, Green, Yellow and White. When the army was reorganised at Taunton, 25 colours were presented to the companies. These colours, and Monmouth's personal green standard, were manufactured in Holland before the invasion.

Based on the adoption of militia-style colours, the Lieutenant Colonel's colour would be a plain field with a motto, while the other company colours had a Saint George in the upper canton. The major's colour would then have a plain field with a 'pile wavy', the first captain's colour had a single symbol and motto, the second captain's colour had two symbols and the third captain's colour had three symbols. Scythe companies did not have colours.

•The Duke of Monmouth's Red Regiment of Foot had a red colour with the motto 'For Religion & Liberty'.


F. Courcelle

Trooper from Monmouth’s Lifeguards of Horse 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)



Cornet of the Duke of Monmouth Troop of Lifeguards 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

•Colonel Foulke’s White Regiment of Foot had a white field with a good Whig motto.

•Colonel Holmes’ Green Regiment of Foot was a green field with a good Whig motto.

•Colonel Matthews’ Yellow Regiment of Foot carried yellow colours.

•Colonel Richard Bovett’s Taunton Blue Regiment of Foot had a blue field with the motto ‘For God & our Privileges’.

Whig Reformado Foot

These are the men who jumped ashore at Lyme with the Duke of Monmouth. The majority wore uniform purple coats lined in red that were bought in Holland, while the others would be in smart civilian coats. Most wore civilian waistcoats, breeches and boots or stockings and shoes. They would have wide-brimmed hats, while some would be turned up in the Monmouth cock, turned up at the back with the front tipped over the eyes.

Whig Regular Foot

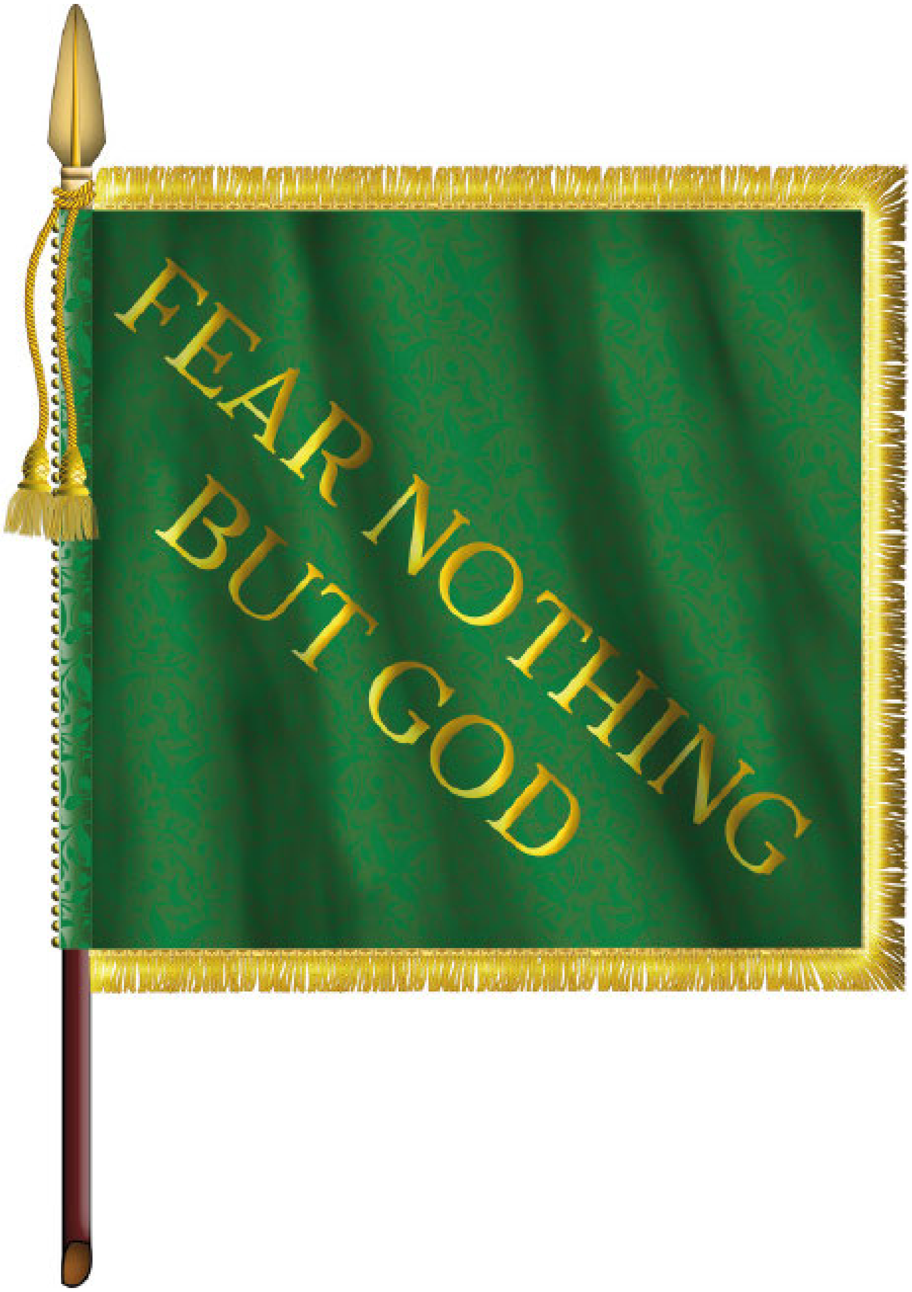
It is highly likely that these soldiers were issued purple coats lined in red, although later enlistments would impact on the uniformity of the units and they would soon have a good mix of purple coats, militia coats and civilian coats in the ranks. The pikemen may also have been provided with a back, breast and pot helmet. They would be in mixture of caps and brimmed hats, even some in the Monmouth cock. If possible, green foliage was placed in the hat, or a green ribbon tide around the arm as a field sign.

Whig Volunteer & Scythe Foot

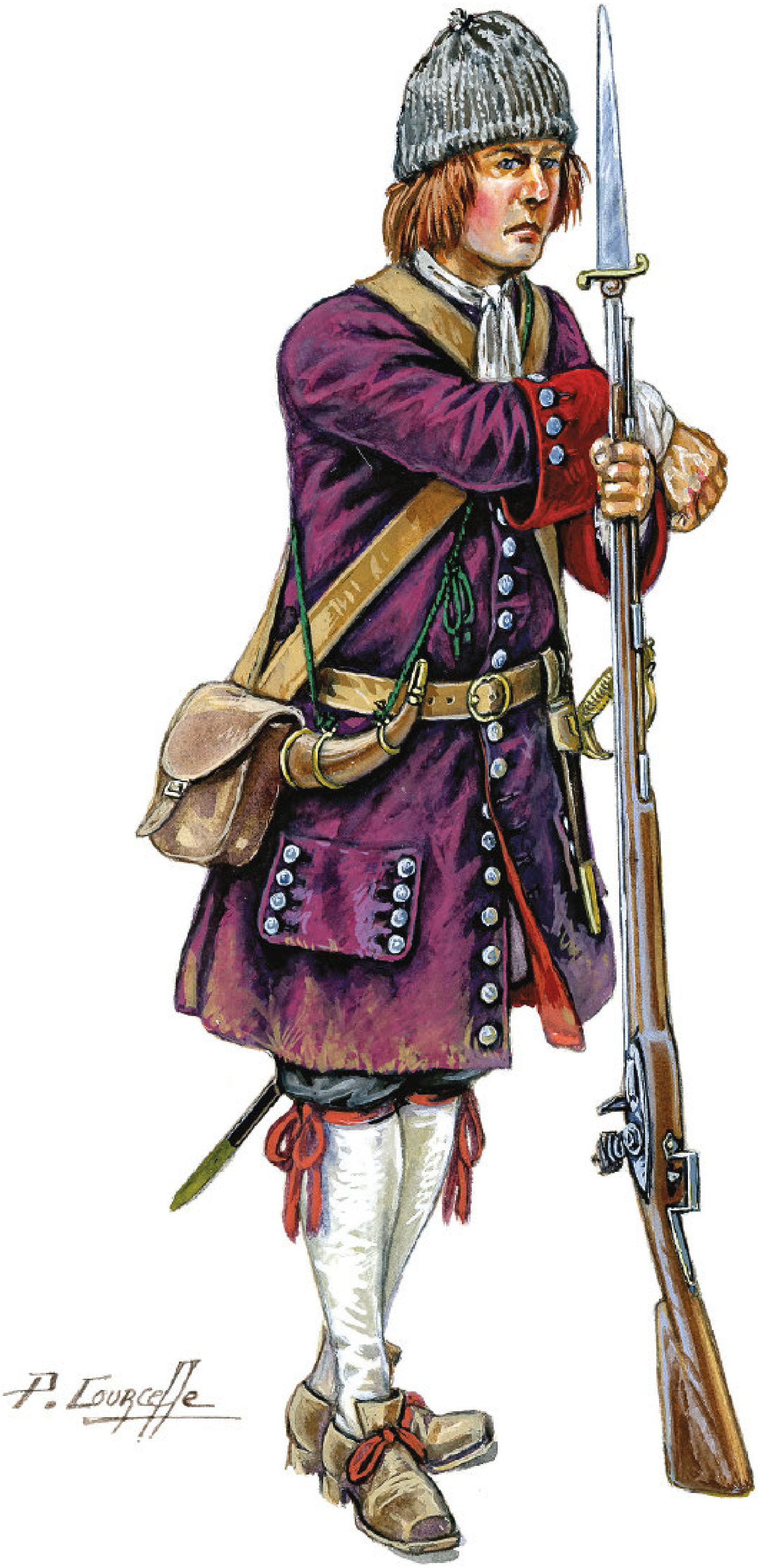
The soldiers would be wearing civilian clothes, with the odd militia coat. However, most of the officers would be wearing purple coats. There would be a mixture of coloured brimmed hats, caps and other headgear. If possible, green foliage should be seen in the hat, or a green ribbon tied around the arm as a field sign.

Whig Irregular Foot

These soldiers should not be considered a mere bunch of labourers and farmhands, but civilians armed with a mixture of weapons, from bills to axes, swords, clubs and old muskets. They should be dressed in a wide range of different coats and hats, but with the green field sign.


FEAR NOTHING
BUT GOD

Duke of Monmouth’s Battle Standard 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)


P. Courcelle

Musketeer from the Duke of Monmouth’s Red Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

If your Whig army must contain peasants in smocks munching straw and holding pitchforks, put these figures into the irregular companies.

Whig Artillery Guard

Each day one of the junior officers would carry Monmouth’s green standard with the motto ‘Fear Nothing but God’. This unit should appear in their purple coats lined red, although by Sedgemoor there may be civilian or militia-coated men in the companies. There would be a mixture of coloured wide-brimmed hats, caps and other headgear. If possible, green foliage would be in the hats, or a green ribbon tied around the arm as a field sign.

Whig Light Ordnance

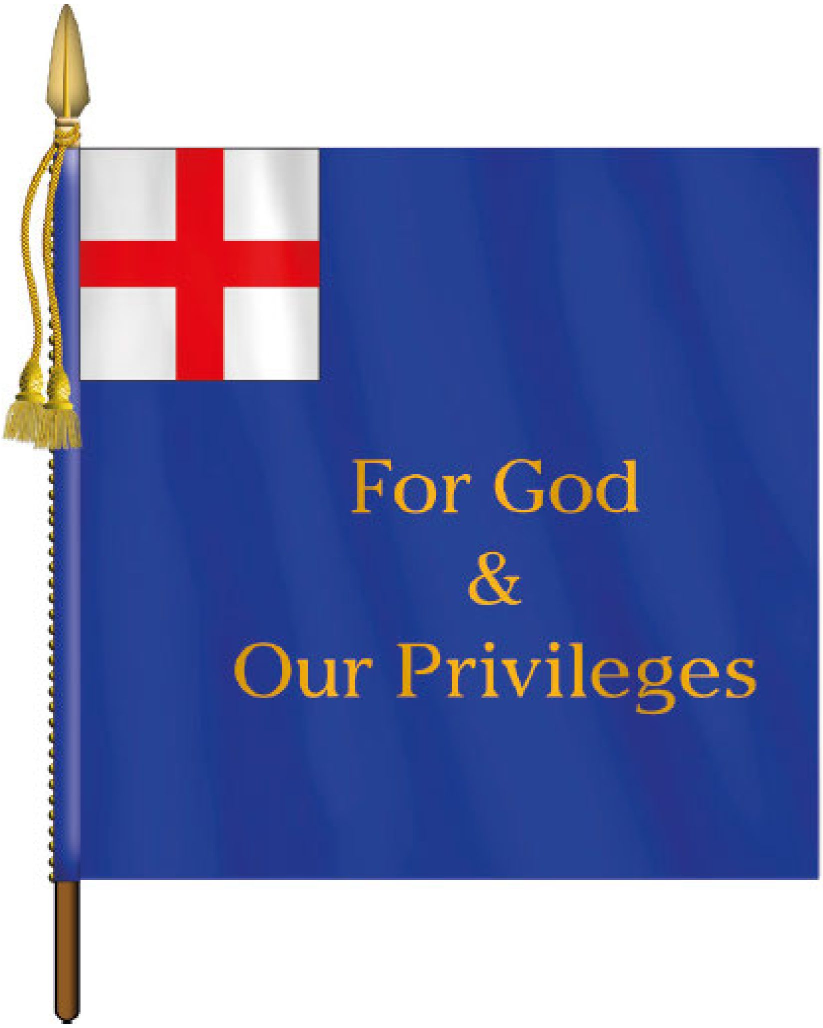
The pointing officers may have worn purple coats lined red supplied by Monmouth, or the dark blue coats of the Brandenburg army, while the labourers would be in civilian coats and hats. All would have the green field sign of the Whigs.

Whig Civilian Mob

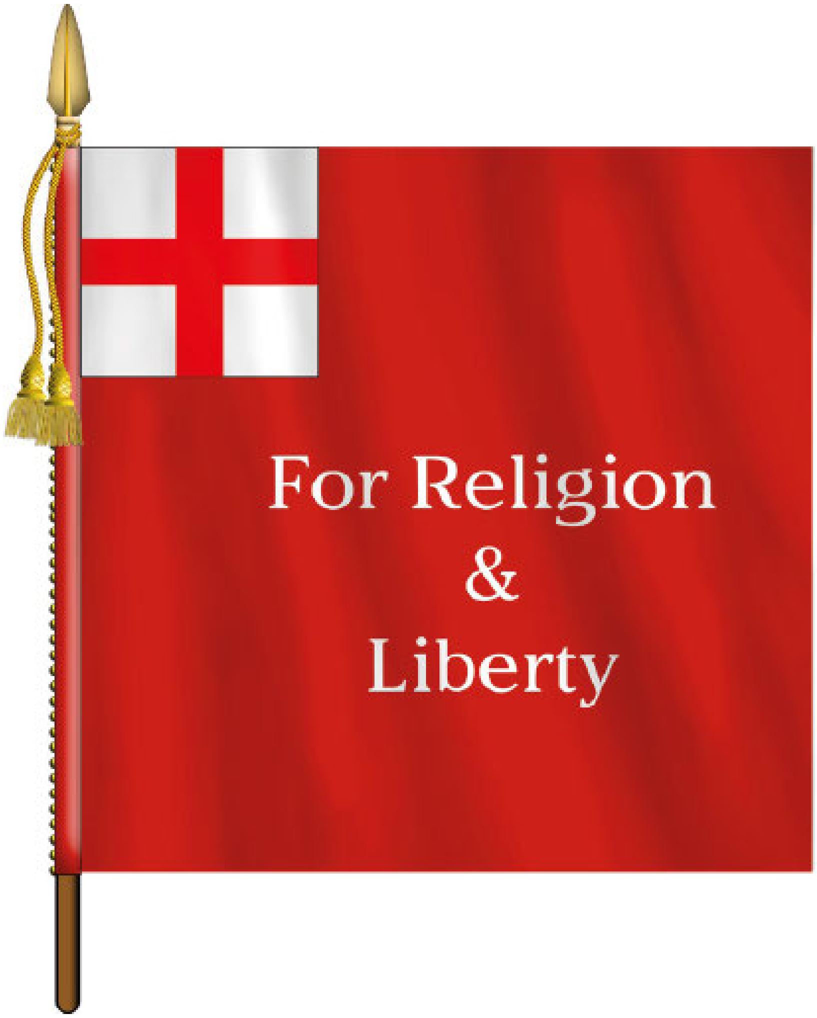
These mobs should be dressed in a range of civilian coats, with a combination of hat types. The men will be wearing a green field sign, such as a ribbon around the arm or leaves and sprigs in hats.

Clubmen Band

They were armed with a mixture of weapons and would be dressed in a range of civilian coats, with a combination of hats, but with a white field sign.


For God
&
Our Privileges

Colonel’s Colour of Monmouth’s Blue Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)


For Religion
&
Liberty

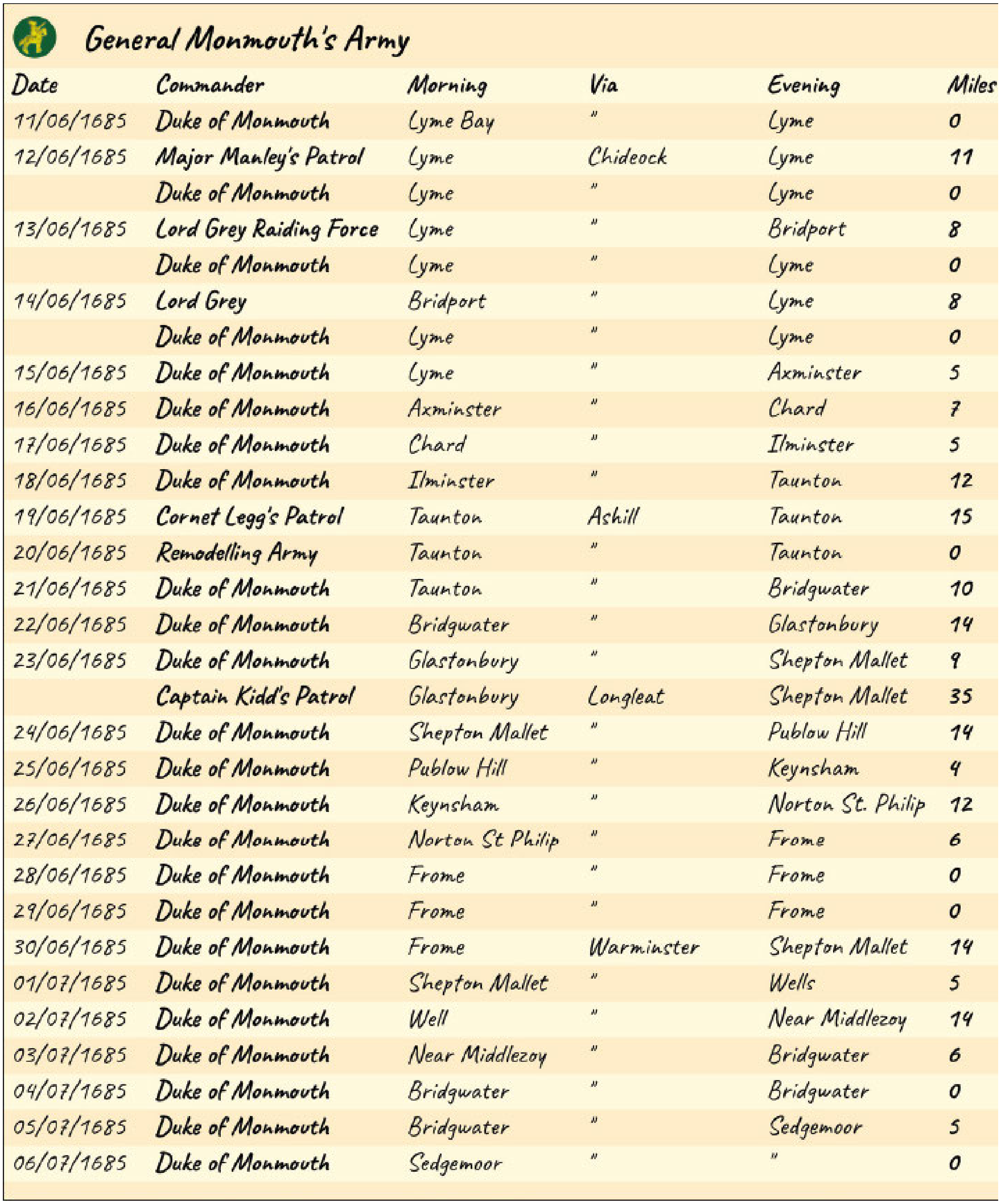
Lieutenant Colonel's Colour of Monmouth's Red Regiment of Foot 1685. (Plate from Fighting for Liberty, Helion & Company, 2020)

Historical Observations

Army Movement Rates

The speed of an army on the march would depend on the country it needed to cross, the number of defiles, its evening lodgement and its size. In open country the army would be marching in multiple columns, with the vanguard ready for battle. In close country the army would move slowly, as paths needed to be cleared and there were more defiles to pass. The terrain for both campaigns should be considered close country.

If an army was lodging in villages or towns, then it took longer to form up in the morning and then go into billets each night. The larger the army, the bigger this problem became, not only due to the baggage and the order of march, but also due to the logistics of supply. Small units could pay for provisions as they moved, but an army of 5,000 needed a supply train to feed it. Critically this needed to be at each overnight lodgement location. Based on the distances covered by each army in 1685, a clear picture of the movement rates can be drawn up.



General Monmouth's Army

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
11/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme Bay	"	Lyme	0
12/06/1685	Major Manley's Patrol	Lyme	Chideock	Lyme	11
	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme	"	Lyme	0
13/06/1685	Lord Grey Raiding Force	Lyme	"	Bridport	8
	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme	"	Lyme	0
14/06/1685	Lord Grey	Bridport	"	Lyme	8
	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme	"	Lyme	0
15/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme	"	Axminster	5
16/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Axminster	"	Chard	7
17/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Chard	"	Ilminster	5
18/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Ilminster	"	Taunton	12
19/06/1685	Cornet Legg's Patrol	Taunton	Ashill	Taunton	15
20/06/1685	Remodelling Army	Taunton	"	Taunton	0
21/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Taunton	"	Bridgwater	10
22/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Bridgwater	"	Glastonbury	14
23/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Glastonbury	"	Shepton Mallet	9
	Captain Kidd's Patrol	Glastonbury	Longleat	Shepton Mallet	35
24/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Shepton Mallet	"	Publow Hill	14
25/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Publow Hill	"	Keynsham	4
26/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Keynsham	"	Norton St. Philip	12
27/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Norton St Philip	"	Frome	6
28/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Frome	"	Frome	0
29/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Frome	"	Frome	0
30/06/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Frome	Warminster	Shepton Mallet	14
01/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Shepton Mallet	"	Wells	5
02/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Well	"	Near Middlezoy	14
03/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Near Middlezoy	"	Bridgwater	6
04/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Bridgwater	"	Bridgwater	0
05/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Bridgwater	"	Sedgemoor	5
06/07/1685	Duke of Monmouth	Sedgemoor	"	"	0

Lord Churchill's Brigade

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
13/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Kingston	"	Farnham?	27
	Colonel Kirke	Stanies	"	Blackwater?	14
14/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Farnham?	"	Stockbridge?	32
	Colonel Kirke	Blackwater?	"	Basingstoke?	14
	Captain Coy	Chelmsford	"	Knightsbridge?	32
	Lord Cornbury	Barnet	"	Knightsbridge?	12
	Captain Sandy	Chichester	"	Portsmouth	16
15/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Stockbridge?	"	Salisbury	14
	Colonel Kirke	Basingstoke?	"	Whitchurch?	11
	Lord Cornbury	Knightsbridge?	"	Bagshot?	25
16/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Salisbury	"	Blandford?	21
	Colonel Kirke	Whitchurch	"	Over Wallop?	14
	Lord Cornbury	Bagshot?	"	Basingstoke?	20
	Portsmouth Artillery Train	Portsmouth	"	Hedge End?	15
17/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Blandford?	"	Bridport	31
	Colonel Kirke	Over Wallop?	"	Salisbury	11
	Lord Cornbury	Baingstoke	"	Andover	17
	Portsmouth Artillery Train	Hedge End?	"	Romsey?	11
18/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Bridport	Slute	Chard	22
	Colonel Kirke	Salisbury	"	Salisbury	0
	Lord Cornbury	Andover?	"	Salisbury	17
	Portsmouth Artillery Train	Romsey?	"	Salisbury	16
19/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Chard	"	Chard	0
	Colonel Kirke	Salisbury	"	Handley?	12
	Lieutenant Monoux	Chard	Ashill	Chard	12
20/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Chard	"	Chard	0
	Colonel Kirke	Handley?	"	Blandford?	10
21/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Chard	"	Chard	0
	Colonel Kirke	Blandford?	"	Dorchester	16
22/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Chard	"	Chard	0
	Colonel Kirke	Dorchester	"	Sherborne	17
23/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Langport	"	Somerton	0
	Colonel Kirke	Sherborne	"	Somerton	13
24/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Somerton	"	Wells	12
25/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Wells	"	Pensford	13
26/06/1685	Lord Churchill	Pensford	"	Bath	11

Movement in England

Monmouth’s army moved on average 10 miles a day between villages. On most days, the army finally moved at 11 o’clock but did not march late into the night. When needed the Whigs could march 14 miles in a day, but only when camping in the open.

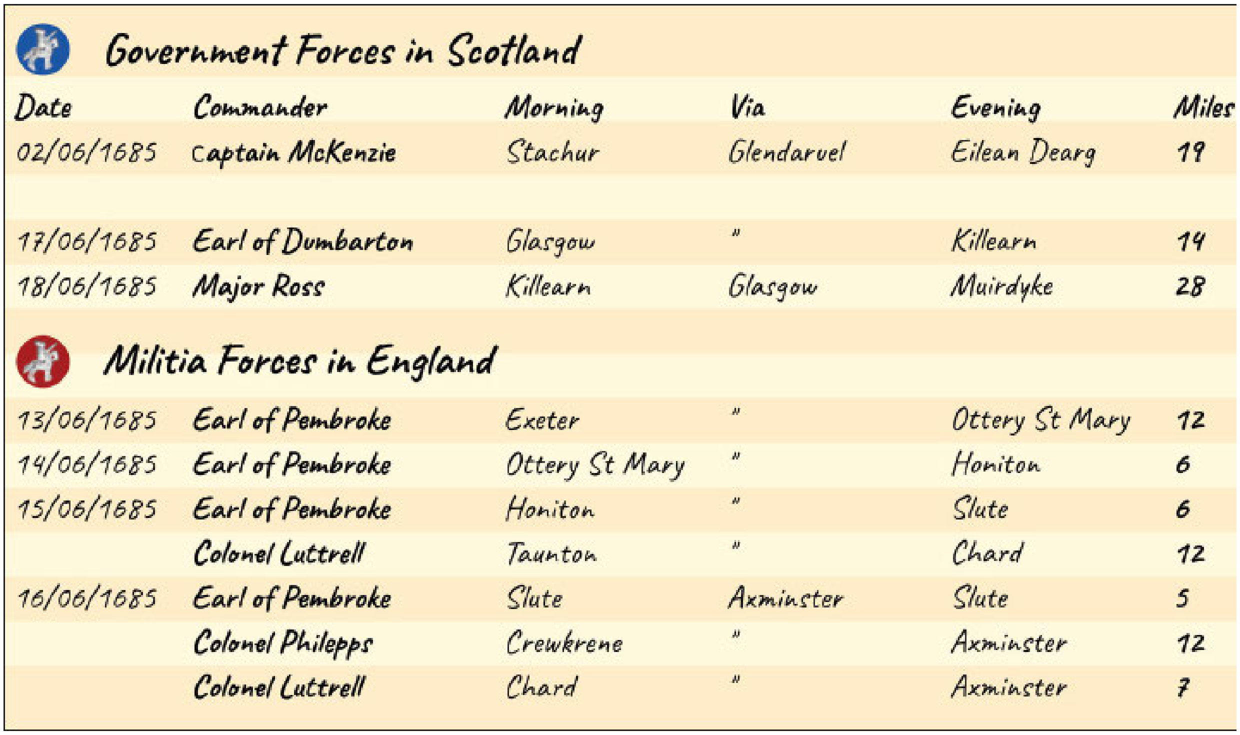
The Portsmouth Train of Artillery and later Colonel Kirke’s battalion averaged 14 miles in a day, between towns and on good roads. Although the army was small and they were supplied by the town authorities. The best rate of march was 16 or 17 miles in a day.

General Feversham's Army

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
20/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Knightsbridge	"	Brentford	7
21/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Brentford	"	Maidenhead	18
22/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Maidenhead	"	Marlborough?	45
	Duke of Grafton	Maidenhead	"	Reading	13
	Colonel Oglethorpe	Maidenhead	"	Andover	41
	Tower Artillery Train	Tower of London	"	Brentford	11
23/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Marlborough?	"	Bristol	39
	Duke of Grafton	Reading	"	Newbury	16
	Colonel Oglethorpe	Andover	"	Warminster	31
	Tower Artillery Train	Brentford	"	Maidenhead	16
24/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bristol	"	Bath	12
	Duke of Grafton	Newbury	"	Marlborough	18
	Colonel Oglethorpe	Warminster	Pensford	Bath	27
	Tower Artillery Train	Maidenhead	"	Reading	13
25/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bath	"	Bristol	12
	Duke of Grafton	Marlborough	"	Chippenham	18
	Colonel Oglethorpe	Bath	Keynsham	Bristol	26
	Tower Artillery Train	Reading	"	Newbury	16
	Major Compton	Kingston	"	Reading?	31
26/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bristol	"	Bath	12
	Duke of Grafton	Chippenham	"	Bath	13
	Tower Artillery Train	Newbury	"	Marlborough	18
	Major Compton	Reading?	"	Marlborough	33
27/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bath	Norton St Philip	Bradford-on-Avon	11
	Tower Artillery Train	Marlborough	"	Chippenham	18
28/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bradford-on-Avon	"	Bradford-on-Avon	0
	Tower Artillery Train	Chippenham	"	Devizes	11
29/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Bradford-on-Avon	"	Westbury	7
	Tower Artillery Train	Devizes	"	Westbury	12
30/06/1685	Earl of Feversham	Westbury	Warminster	Frome	8
01/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Frome	"	Frome	0
02/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Frome	"	Shepton Mallet	11
03/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Shepton Mallet	"	Somerton	14
04/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Somerton	"	Somerton	0
05/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Somerton	"	Westonzoyland	11
06/07/1685	Earl of Feversham	Westonzoyland	"	"	0

In comparison, the Duke of Grafton and the Tower artillery train managed an average of 16 miles a day, but on the very good roads between big towns and without a supply train. It is interesting that once the whole Government army came together into one body, with supply and baggage trains, its average daily marching distance was 11 miles a day. With Feversham's army leaving Somerton around 10 o'clock, but still arriving in camp at around 7 o'clock in the evening.

These distances dramatically increase when small parties of cavalry move unsupported from town to town. In his rush west, Churchill and two troops of horse managed 25 miles per day. This was between towns, on good roads, without supply issues. However, the Earl of Feversham managed a whopping 42 miles a day in his coach accompanied by the lifeguards. Colonel Oglethorpe with his flying patrols averaged 32 miles in a day. The final thing to consider is the rest days, as none of the armies marched more than nine days in succession without at least one day of rest.

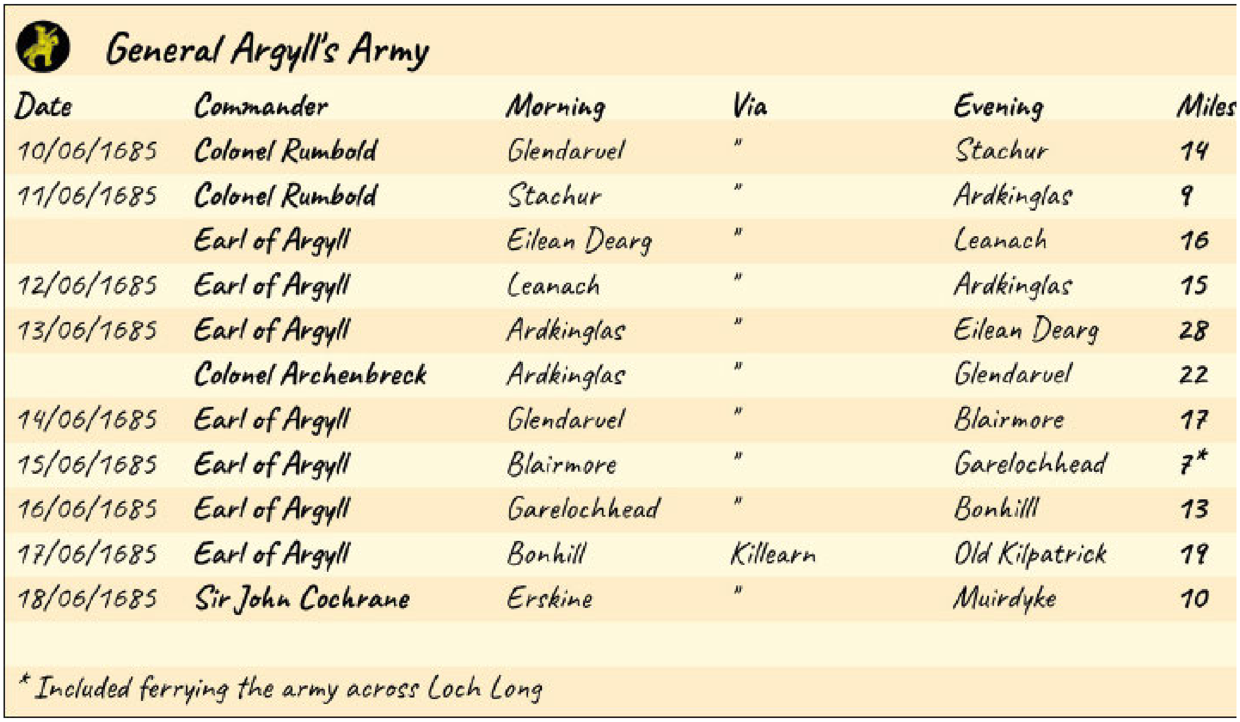


Government Forces in Scotland

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
02/06/1685	Captain McKenzie	Stachur	Glendaruel	Eilean Dearg	19
17/06/1685	Earl of Dumbarton	Glasgow	"	Killearn	14
18/06/1685	Major Ross	Killearn	Glasgow	Muirdyke	28

Militia Forces in England

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
13/06/1685	Earl of Pembroke	Exeter	"	Ottery St Mary	12
14/06/1685	Earl of Pembroke	Ottery St Mary	"	Honiton	6
15/06/1685	Earl of Pembroke	Honiton	"	Slute	6
	Colonel Luttrell	Taunton	"	Chard	12
16/06/1685	Earl of Pembroke	Slute	Axminster	Slute	5
	Colonel Philepps	Crewkrene	"	Axminster	12
	Colonel Luttrell	Chard	"	Axminster	7



General Argyll's Army

Date	Commander	Morning	Via	Evening	Miles
10/06/1685	Colonel Rumbold	Glendaruel	"	Stachur	14
11/06/1685	Colonel Rumbold	Stachur	"	Ardkinglas	9
	Earl of Argyll	Eilean Dearg	"	Leanach	16
12/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Leanach	"	Ardkinglas	15
13/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Ardkinglas	"	Eilean Dearg	28
	Colonel Archenbreck	Ardkinglas	"	Glendaruel	22
14/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Glendaruel	"	Blairmore	17
15/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Blairmore	"	Garelochhead	7*
16/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Garelochhead	"	Bonhilll	13
17/06/1685	Earl of Argyll	Bonhill	Killearn	Old Kilpatrick	19
18/06/1685	Sir John Cochrane	Erskine	"	Muirdyke	10

* Included ferrying the army across Loch Long

Movement in Scotland

In Scotland where Argyll’s army was moving across harsh ground and sleeping rough each night, without baggage or supplies, they averaged 14 miles per day, but on one day they marched 22 miles. The Marquis of Atholl managed 12 miles a day when moving from Edinburgh to Inveraray via Blair Atholl. When unaccompanied horse travelled in Scotland the distances were about 28 miles. This is true of Argyll’s move from Ardkinglas to Eilean Dearg and Major Ross’s pursuit from Killearn to Muirdyke.

However, the record must go to Sir John Cochrane’s veterans who marched 28 miles on foot, across extremely rough ground, fought two skirmishes and crossed a major river with only a few hours’ rest.

James II on the English Army at Sedgemoor

Some of you may have noticed that the English Government army referred to in this publication does not reflect any other reference book on the campaign. This is because it is all based on James II’s account of the battle written in 1686. Surprisingly, this account is wrong and based on the army review at Hounslow Health and does not reflect his own letters written during the campaign to the Prince of Orange, or the marching orders in the National Archives in Kew.

English Grenadier Companies

The First Regiment of Foot Guards had two grenadier companies at the coronation of the King on 23 April. These were Captain Hawley’s and Captain Booth’s companies. The latter had been the Duke of York’s Independent Company based in Portsmouth becoming the second grenadier company on 28 February 1685. Based on James II’s account it was assumed that only one company of grenadiers from the regiment marched from London with Feversham.

However, this is wrong. After the battle of Norton St Philip, Feversham wrote to King James, that all ‘five grenadier companies’ were brigaded together. As only the First Foot Guards, Coldstream Guards, Kirke’s and Trelawny’s regiments were in this battle, the fifth must have been Booth’s as we know that all these had grenadier companies in the campaign. This brigading of grenadiers is also referenced in some of the accounts of the battle and by showing them having a separate encampment on two of the period maps.

Lord Douglas’s Royal Regiment of Foot

King James II’s account of the battle of Sedgemoor, states that ‘the first [battalion] on the right was composed of Dumbarton’s, one company of which were grenadiers.’ Ignoring the fact that Dumbarton was not the colonel until after the campaign, every historian has the Royal Scots regiment fielding a grenadier company and most historians have replaced Robert Halkett’s company with Hodges’ grenadiers. However, Captain Halkett was ordered to Southwark on 13 June and there is no mention of Captain Hodges leaving Rochester.

The five regular foot companies ordered from Southwark on 13 June were, Lord Douglas', Captain Moncrieff's, Captain George Murray's, Captain McKenzie's and Captain Halkett's. As Captain Halkett was mentioned in the account of the casualties received at Sedgemoor, his company's presence at the battle is more likely than Hodge's grenadiers.

Colonel Kirke's Queen Dowagers Regiment

Many publications have Lesley's Regiment at Sedgemoor, but this was not possible as they were in Plymouth. Although Lieutenant Withers was mentioned in accounts of the battle, he may have been a replacement officer or been acting as the regimental adjutant.

Colonel Trelawny's Queen Consorts Regiment of Foot

Unfortunately, every historian since James II has written that five companies of the regiment were at Sedgemoor. Yet the War Office marching orders and James's own letters from the time state that only four companies departed Portsmouth. To confirm this detail, on 29 August 1685, Colonel Trelawny was ordered to bring the remaining seven companies from Portsmouth to Taunton. There are explicit orders for the grenadiers to be part of the train of artillery guard.

Company Sizes

Based on James II's account of the size of the army at Sedgemoor, publications using this as the primary reference put the company sizes of the guards at 60 privates and the regulars at 50 privates. This comes from Oglethorpe's account putting the army at 1,800 strong. However, other accounts state 2,700 or 2,800 infantry. On 13 June every regiment, except Kirke's, were ordered to increase the size of each company to 100 privates.

When the three battalions of guards marched from London, they numbered between 1,800 and 2,000. After Sedgemoor, 900 men from Kirke's and Trelawny's battalions marched into Bridgwater. Therefore, the figure of 2,700 is about right for the size of the government army at Sedgemoor.

James II's Infantry at Sedgemoor

The rather symmetrical army documented by James II at the battle is:

•First Foot Guards, 12 guard and one grenadier company (770 privates)

•Coldstream Guards, six guard and one grenadier company (410 privates)

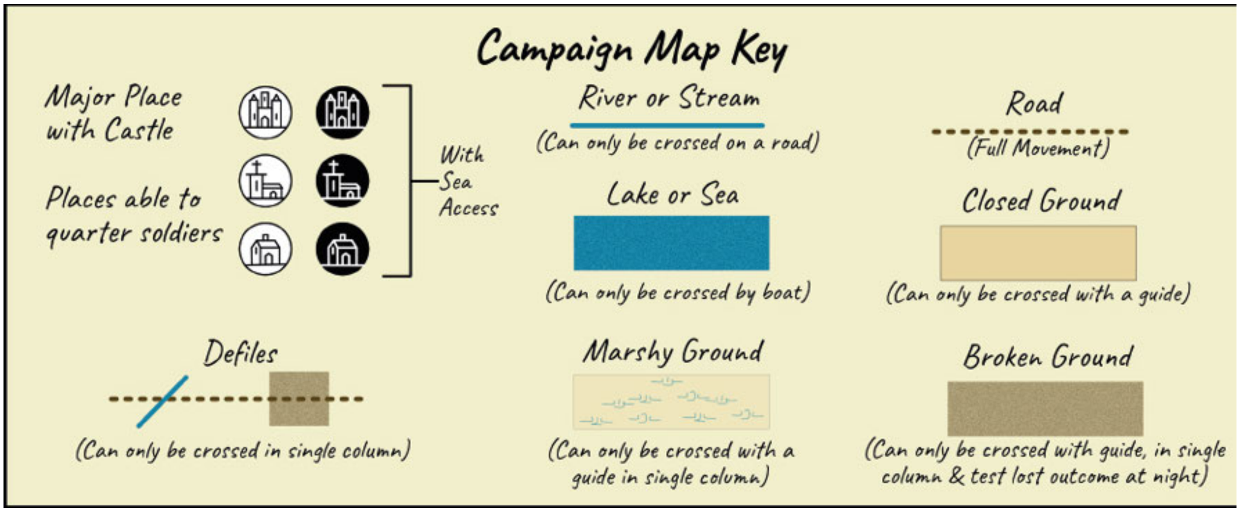
•Dumbarton's, four regular and one grenadier company (250 privates)

•Kirke’s, four regular and one grenadier company (250 privates)

•Trelawny’s, four regular and one grenadier company (250 privates)

This puts the army at around 1,900 strong. As a footnote in his account there is a gap and a note in the margin asking for the actual officers and numbers, but it was never answered!

One King! Quick Play Rules


Campaign Map Key
Major Place with Castle
Places able to quarter soldiers
With Sea Access
River or Stream
(Can only be crossed on a road)
Road
(Full Movement)
Lake or Sea
(Can only be crossed by boat)
Closed Ground
(Can only be crossed with a guide)
Defiles
(Can only be crossed in single column)
Marshy Ground
(Can only be crossed with a guide in single column)
Broken Ground
(Can only be crossed with guide, in single column & test lost outcome at night)

Army Starting Places in Scotland

May	Whig Commander	Start Place
22	Earl of Argyll	Tarbet
22	Charles Campbell	Dunstaffnage
24	Laird of Auchinbreck	Carnassene Castle

May	Government Commander	Start Place
22	Laird of Ballechan	Inveraray
22	Laird of Breadalbane	Kilchurn
22	Duke of Lenox	Dumbarton Castle
22	Earl of Mars	Stirling Castle
23	Earl of Dumbarton	Linlithgow
26	Lord Claverhouse	Beith
26	Marquis of Atholl	Killin
30	HMY Charlotte	Largs
30	Laird of Lochnell	Inveraray

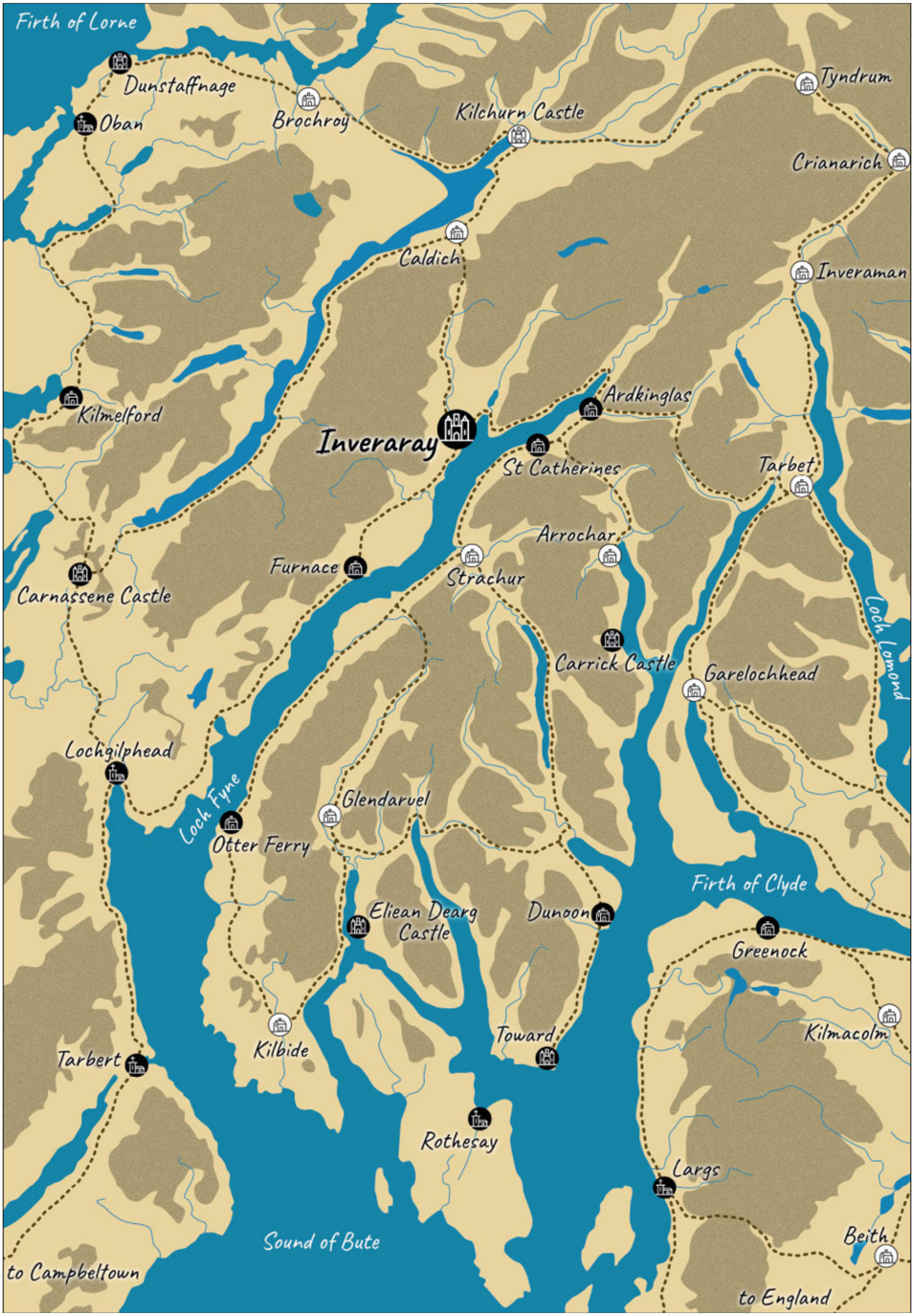
June	Government Commander	Start Place
3	HMS Falcon	Largs
5	HMS Kingfisher	Largs
6	HMS Mermaid	Largs
8	Duke of Gordon	Creiff

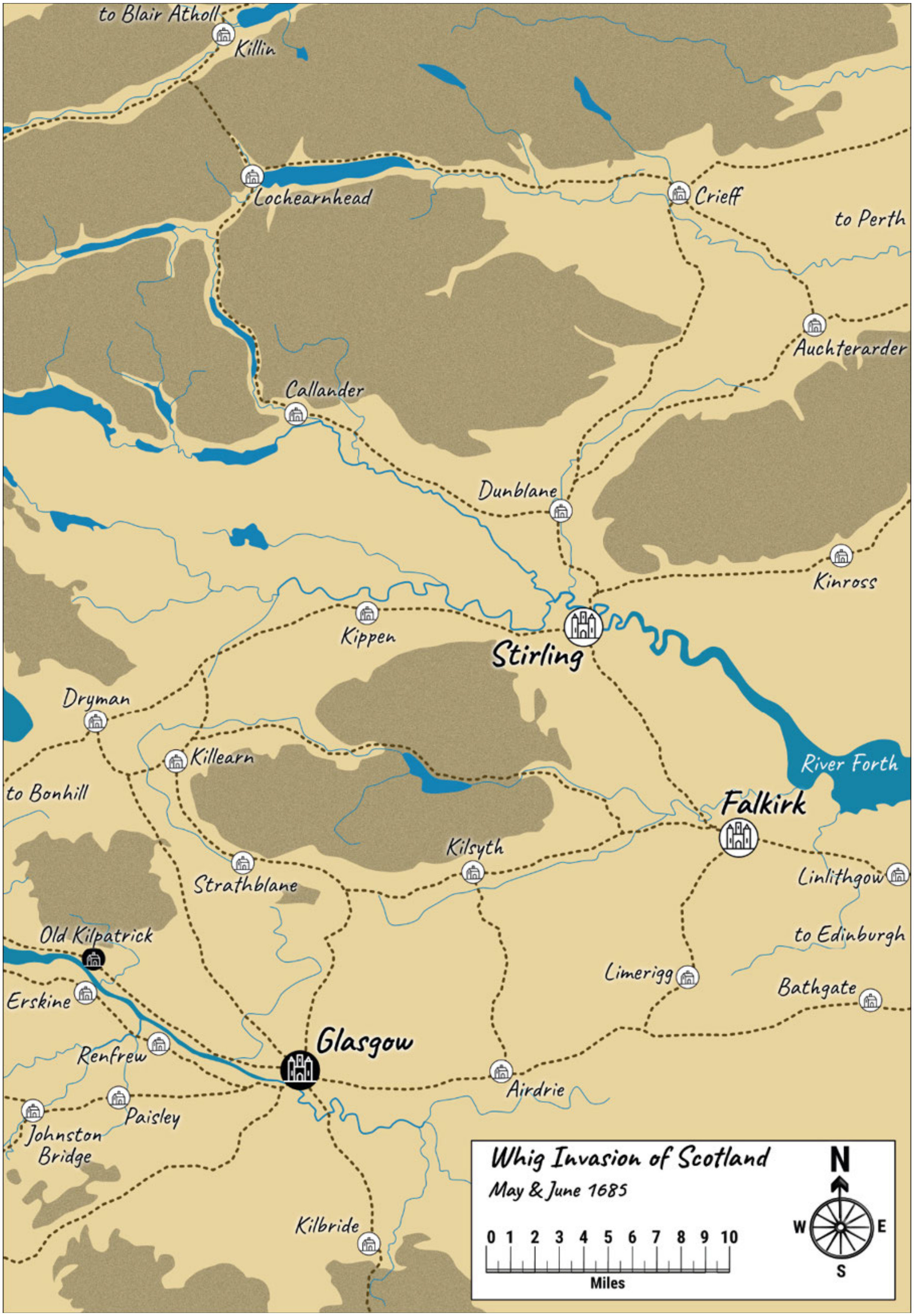
Army Starting Places in England

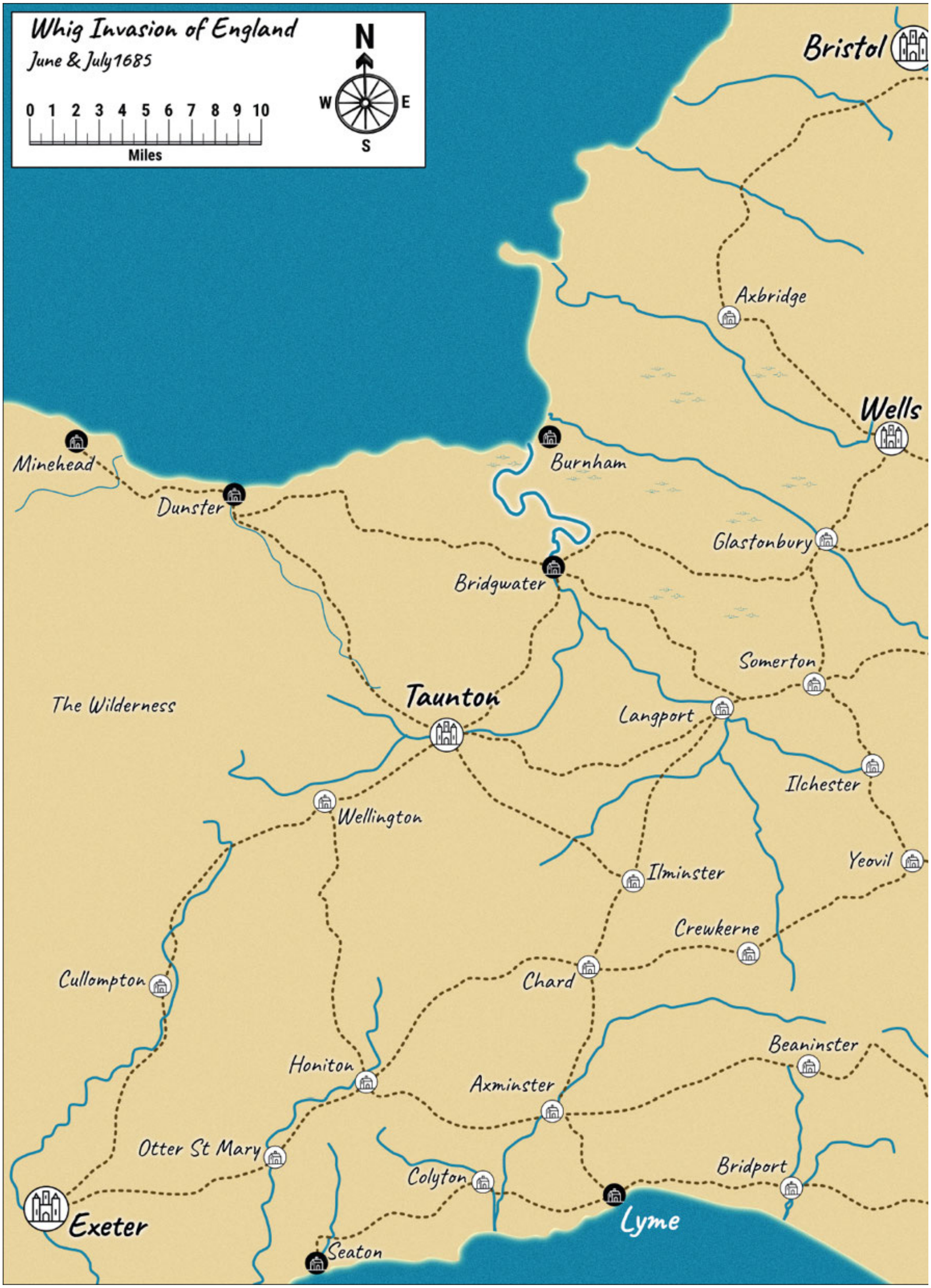
June	Whig Commander	Start Place
8	Colonel Bovett	Taunton
10	Colonel Venner	Near Lyme
11	Duke of Monmouth	Lyme

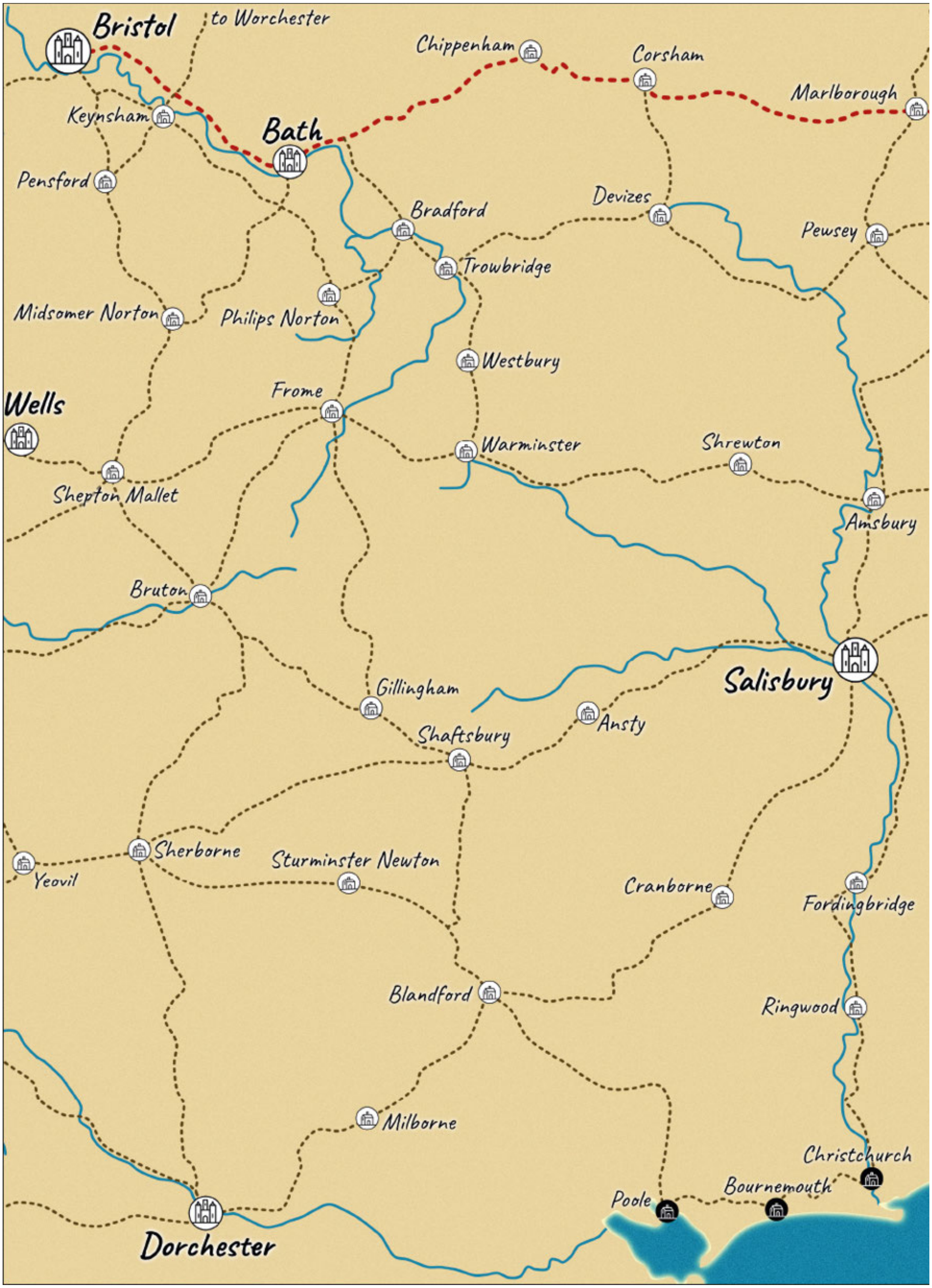
June	Government Commander	Start Place
4	Colonel Luttrell	Taunton
8	Colonel Strangeways	Bridport
9	Earl of Albermarle	Exeter
9	Earl of Pembroke	Westbury
15	Lord Churchill	Salisbury
15	Earl of Beaufort	Bristol
17	Colonel Kirke	Sailsbury
18	Lord Cornbury	Salisbury
18	Portsmouth Artillery Train	Salisbury
22	Earl of Feversham	Marlborough
24	Duke of Grafton	Marlborough
26	Tower Artillery Train	Marlborough

July	Government Commander	Start Place
8	Brigadier Mackay	Amsbury


Firth of Lorne
Dunstaffnage
Oban
Brochroy
Kilchurn Castle
Tyndrum
Crianarich
Caldich
Inveraman
Kilmelford
Ardkinglas
Inveraray
St Catherines
Tarbet
Arrochar
Furnace
Strachur
Carnassene Castle
Loch Lomond
Carrick Castle
Garelochhead
Lochgilphead
Loch Fyne
Glendaruel
Otter Ferry
Firth of Clyde
Eliean Dearg
Castle
Dunoon
Greenock
Kilmacolm
Toward
Kilbide
Tarbert
Rothesay
Largs
Beith
Sound of Bute
to Campbeltown
to England


to Blair Atholl
Killin
Lochearnhead
Crieff
to Perth
Auchterarder
Callander
Dunblane
Kinross
Kippen
Stirling
Dryman
Killearn
to Bonhill
River Forth
Falkirk
Kilsyth
Strathblane
Linlithgow
to Edinburgh
Old Kilpatrick
Limerigg
Bathgate
Erskine
Glasgow
Renfrew
Airdrie
Paisley
Johnston Bridge
Kilbride
Whig Invasion of Scotland
May & June 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
N
W
E
S


Whig Invasion of England
June & July 1685
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Miles
N
W
E
S
Bristol
Axbridge
Wells
Minehead
Burnham
Dunster
Glastonbury
Bridgwater
Somerton
Taunton
The Wilderness
Langport
Ilchester
Wellington
Yeovil
Ilminster
Crewkerne
Cullompton
Chard
Beaninster
Honiton
Axminster
Otter St Mary
Bridport
Colyton
Exeter
Lyme
Seaton


Bristol
to Worchester
Chippenham
Corsham
Marlborough
Keynsham
Bath
Pensford
Bradford
Devizes
Pewsey
Trowbridge
Midsomer Norton
Philips Norton
Westbury
Wells
Frome
Warminster
Shrewton
Amsbury
Shepton Mallet
Bruton
Gillingham
Salisbury
Ansty
Shaftsbury
Sherborne
Sturminster Newton
Yeovil
Cranborne
Fordingbridge
Blandford
Ringwood
Milborne
Christchurch
Bournemouth
Poole
Dorchester

Looking at the campaign of 1685 there are a sizeable number of events the outcome of which sat balanced on a knife edge, but fate favoured the winning side. These rules give you the opportunity to rerun the campaign and influence the side fate plays, should you wish. The following game can be played solo, or with two to four players using a standard deck of cards. If playing solo, use some dice to determine the opponents' actions.

Game Play

Preparation

Separate the out the cards into four piles. The Whig players takes the black suites and the Government players the red.

Hearts are for the James, Duke of York player.

Diamonds are for the Earl of Dumbarton player.

Clubs are for the James, Duke of Monmouth player.

Spades are for the Earl of Argyll player.

The suites are then split into the face cards, the jokers, the aces and number cards. The jokers are given to the players who are the dukes (York and Monmouth). Each player keeps hold of the aces and face cards which are the influence cards.

The rest of the number cards used as a deck to decide outcomes and cards and are shuffled and placed face down into a Whig outcome pile and a Government outcome pile. When used, the outcome cards are placed into a new pile and this is reshuffled when all the cards have been used.

Outcome Draw

During the campaign there are ‘what if’ suggestions and players could make an outcome draw. These are points in history were fate played its hand, so the players can now play their part.

An outcome draw is performed by the two opposing commanders, the earls or the dukes, turning over the next card in their outcome pile. The winner can either change the historical outcome or leave as it occurred in the original campaign. If it is a draw, the historical the event cannot be changed even by an influence card. However, if one side wins then they can change the outcome, unless the opponent uses an influence card.

Influence Cards

These allow a player to override an outcome result, but they can only be used once. The losing player can now override his opponent's victory by playing an influence card and this will alter the outcome, back into his favour. If the card is an ace, then this cannot be overturned by the opposing player. However, if the card is a face card, his opponent can counter this with a card of his own, to reclaim the outcome and this cycle can continue until both sides run out of cards. This process includes across both the earls and the dukes.

Jokers

The Jokers are used to change a historical outcome, but before it happens. The Joker needs to be placed before the outcome draw, then the outcome automatically goes in the player's favour and no draw takes place. They cannot be used to win a battle, but they can be used by either player to force or avoid a battle. You only have one so use the Joker wisely.

Campaign Resources

For free downloadable PDF campaign maps with all the key towns, main roads and route marches visit my webpage:

https://warwalks.com/one-king-campaign-map/

Battles & Encounters

If playing One King down at the pub or online with your friends, then battles can be decided using the following quick rules.

Battle Deployment

The armies are separated into cavalry, infantry and artillery. The players take an outcome card, face down for each of their units. For small battles, a unit is an artillery pieces, a company of 50 or a squad of 20. For larger battles units are brigades of four pieces, battalions of five or six companies or squadrons of three troops.

The Battle Sequence

The game is split into rounds of combat phases. Starting with the player with the smaller army, each player turns one of their unit cards followed by opposing player. If the cards are equal, it is a draw and the card remains in play and both players move to the next unit. However, if one player wins, the opposition can let the enemy win, counter-attack, use an artillery card or an influence card.

Counter-attacking

To counter-attack, the player turns over another unit card. If the counter-attacking card wins, then opponent can counter-attack back with one their units and so the combat cycle continues until a counter-attack fails, the opponent backs down, they run out of units or they play an influence card. All units that a player loses are removed from the battle and the victor keeps the winning unit for the next round.

Artillery Support

If supporting with artillery, the player turns over the card and adds this to score of the defeated unit. If they win then the opponent's card is removed and both winning units remain for the next round. If they lose both units are removed.

Winning a Battle

Once all unit cards have been played or one side runs out of units, the round ends. The outcome cards are then reshuffled and the surviving units issued with new outcome cards. However, the battle ends when one or both sides have no units left at the start of a new round. The victor is the player with units left on the battlefield or it could be a draw if both forces lose.

Scouts, Spies & Communications

Intelligence played a critical part of the campaign and contributed to the ultimate victory of King James, Duke of York. However, scouts and guides also played a significant role during the long marches. Therefore, these two aspects need to be added by players of any wargame.

Scouts

Each army needs to send out patrols around army and along the route of march. This would consist of troops of horse 10 or more miles from the army. They would sweep across the countryside looking for the enemy. Typically, one squad would be half a mile ahead of the supporting troopers led by one of the subaltern officers. However, unless they knew the ground, they would need local guides (see below) to support their movements. As well as discovering the enemy and tripping any ambushes, these scouts act as a screen for their own army. Only one troop or squad out of every three in the army can act as scouts, covering about 30 miles per day.

To decide the level of intelligence gathered by scouts, place an outcome card on the table for each unit, in each area of the map. Then add an outcome card if they have a guide or local knowledge. Then follow the battle encounter rules, with the winning side knowing the exact location of any hostile force in that area.

Guides

Guides are critical to the movement of an army, as without guides independent columns cannot move and the army movement rate slows down. An army without scouts can only move on the main roads.

The scoutmaster recruits guides and up to five can be with the army at any one time. As the scout master moves through a town, they can stop and test with an outcome card. If they win, a new guide is added to the army. However, if the guides are used by scouts who lose an encounter, they are removed.

Spies & Agents

The Government player has a network of informers within the Whig army councils. As a result, the Government player will know where the Whig army is at the start of each day if they win an outcome draw. However, after Venner leaves the army, this intelligence dries up!

However, this cannot change the overruling direction of King James' overseeing eye in Whitehall. In England, until Monmouth reaches Frome, the Government player cannot block the road to London via Warminster. In Scotland the Government player cannot attack the Whigs until Argyll leaves Argyllshire or takes Inveraray.

Communications

The flow of intelligence between different army detachments is critical. If this is absent, then the different commanders cannot coordinate moves or attacks. Unfortunately, Churchill is particularly bad at communicating with his superiors or deputies. For other commanders of detachments, a simple outcome draw should be made to see if the message arrived. For Churchill, an initial outcome draw will indicate if he can be bothered to send a message.

Battle Readiness

Army Councils

For the Whig commanders the council of war was an important aspect of the campaign. It demonstrated leadership and legitimised the campaign. In Scotland, before Argyll can make a move, he must win over the army council and if the outcome is in his favour, then he can probably attack Inveraray. Otherwise, he must compromise and take a neutral course of action. In England, if the Whig council backs the Duke’s wishes, then army morale increases, but the Whig player can still do what he wants. However, after the general pardon was published, any failed vote will result in Colonel Speke, Colonel Venner and his friends leaving the army. The council must contain six members plus the general and each member voters based on an outcome card draw.

Command & Control

In the late seventeenth century, the command-and-control structure was defined from the general down to the corporal, with each layer having duties and responsibilities. At the squad or division level, the number of officers and NCOs keep the soldiers together and improve their training. Without experienced corporals, the soldiers with be unable to perform all but the basic moves and exercises.

At the company level, it was the captain and his supporting staff that ensured the unit marched and fought well. If the ratio of officers to men is high then the unit will maintain its dressings, enabling it to manoeuvre and fire more effectively. If this is low, the unit will quickly become disordered and break if under pressure. Large companies put pressure on the NCOs and officers, especially if the bulk of the soldiers have no training.

At the battalion or squadron level, it was the commander’s ability and experience that creates battlefield effectiveness. In the Whig army, the colonels hold their units together and while they are commanding the units performance improves. As the top level, it is the general’s overall abilities and social rank that determine how much control he has over his army.

Rest, Fatigue & Supplies

Once a unit has left its depot, each day on the road reduces its effectiveness, either through wear and tear or fatigue. This then impacts on the fighting ability and the morale of the soldiers. However, there was also the supply of provisions to consider and any unit larger than a brigade needed a supply train. Without this, men could not eat and would start to leave the ranks or straggle as they foraged or pillaged for food.

Supply Trains

These are hard to manage in real life, let alone on the wargames table. Therefore, each battalion, squadron or brigade must take an outcome test to see if it is provisioned. If they fail, then their morale drops for the following day. For more a detailed campaign, these supply trains should be treated as a detachment, risking ambushes each day.

Wear & Tear

After four days of marching, unless resting, at the start of the next day each battalion, squadron or artillery brigade must take an outcome test to see the impact of the campaign so far. If they fail, then they drop in quality, until they are worn out!

- Well shod and uniformed: all Government soldiers, except Kirke’s start here

- Well fed, adequate equipment: Kirke’s and Whig regulars or veterans start here

- Reasonably equipped: all militia Highlanders, Whig volunteers, Lowlanders start here

- Poorly equipped: morale drops a level

- Irregulars living off the population: morale drops a level

- Poorly equipped: morale, firepower and melee ability all drop a level

Fatigue

The conditions and length of march impacted on the quality of the soldiers. Without rest, the morale and fighting ability of a unit drops. This is further influenced by any forced night march and extended long-distance marches. The following guide should be used to moderate an army rate of march (also see Army Movement Rates).

- Rested for two or more days, morale and fighting ability increased

- Rested for a day, morale increased

- Comfortable, short march yesterday, morale and fighting ability is maintained

•Extend marched yesterday: morale drops a level

•Marched overnight, or forced marched: morale and fighting ability drops two

•Fatigued, marched six or more days without rest: morale and fighting ability drops three

Movement Rates

The following rough movement rates apply:

•10 miles a day for an army with a supply train moving between towns

•12 miles per day for an army with a supply train moving between camps

•14 miles per day for an army with a supply train moving from a town to camp

•16 miles per day for a mixed brigade moving from town to town

•28 miles per day for a cavalry detachment moving from town to town

•45 miles per day for a flying cavalry column (no more than three days in a row)

•It takes an entire day to disembark an army and its supplies

•A battalion, squadron or brigade should have two rest days after being at sea for more than a week

If moving from town to town then a few extra miles will not impact morale, but marching through one and pushing on to the next will create fatigue.

Army Recruitment

For the Whig player, size matters and recruits are critical to the success of the army. Each town that the Whig commander or his scoutmaster visits they recruit new squads of men. These could be waiting mobs (see below) or men who want to fight for the cause. During the campaign the Government army units do not receive new recruits, so be careful.

Whig Recruitment Process

Each day the players turn over an outcome card and the difference indicates the number of squads who enlist. The Whig player can then turn over another card based on his success level, one for each victory regardless of the size of encounter.

In England, Monmouth only his enough weapons for 75 squads and only 30 of these can be regular. Once he leaves Lyme all are classed as volunteers, or once there are no more weapons, they become irregulars. These numbers can be doubled if the Fly avoids capture and docks at Bridgwater. Monmouth stops recruiting once the King's proclamation was published on the 28 June.

In Scotland, the process is different. For Argyll, he needs to enlist his lairds and Lowland supporters. Lowlanders are recruited in Campbeltown, Tarbert, Glasgow and south of the Clyde and each day Argyll is in a town play an outcome draw as in England. However, in the Isles and Highlands, the lairds don't just come flooding in and Argyll can only recruit Highlanders at Tobermory, on the isle of Islay and at Dunstaffnage. To do this play an outcome draw, adding an extra card if the Fiery Cross is burning strong. Once this has been lit Argyll's son Charles can recruit Highlanders during the five days he marches south and when on the Cowal Peninsular. Again, decide by an outcome draw. One Highland squad out of every three will be a laird's retainers. Argyll has unlimited weapons until he loses his magazine.

Horses

Horses obviously are needed to raise cavalry and both Whig commanders need to hire or acquire mounts. To find out how many mounts have been found make an outcome draw every other day. The value of any Whig victory indicates the number of squads that can be mounted.

For Monmouth, only five troops of regulars can be formed at Lyme and one troop of Lifeguards is automatically formed when he is crowned king. Otherwise, all the cavalry recruits are volunteers or irregular.

Whig Mobs

In England, these gather in towns adjacent to the Whig commander’s location unless there is a militia battalion in garrison. For the smaller towns do a single outcome draw and these become mobs, who can move to the Whig commander the following day. For the bigger towns of Bristol, Taunton, Dorchester or Frome they can rise up even if they are under militia control. For this to happen a Whig personality must be in the town, or Monmouth must be crowned King. Then, if an outcome draw is successful, the mob rallies for King Monmouth. Then do another outcome test to determine the number of mobs that form each day. Once these outnumber the militia, the mob takes to the streets (also see Civilian Mobs).

In Scotland, Covenanter mobs can form in each town south of the Clyde if Argyll attacks Largs. If an outcome draw is successful, the mob rally for the good old cause and they start marching to Greenock. Make an outcome draw each day to see if they are intercepted by a militia patrol (see Covenanter Mobs).

Monmouth’s Red Regiment of Foot 1685. (From the collection of Charles Singleton)

Government Highland Garrisons

Laird of Ballechan

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Good	**Average**	**Middle Nobility**	**Low**	**Moderate**

Abilities
Able to move without a guide

Laird of Breadalbane

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	**High**	**Middle Nobility**	**Low**	**Moderate**

Abilities
Can move without a guide

Highland Watch Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

4 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal & 35 soldiers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Matchlock Musket, Sword & Bandoleer

Note
Will become disordered on the battlefield if ordered to perform multiple moves without time to redress.

Loyal Laird Reinforcements

Laird of Lochnell

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Flexible	**Average**	**Middle Nobility**	**Very Low**	**High**

Abilities
Able to move without a guide

Highland Laird Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

1 or more Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 30 clansmen

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Matchlock Musket, Sword & Bandoleer

Note
Lack of control and will become disordered if the unit wheels or after combat. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Highland Tenant Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

2 or more Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer & 30 clansmen

Loose Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Mixed (sword, axe, bill, pistol or matchlock musket with flask)

Note
Lack of control and will become disordered if the unit moves or after combat. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Duke of Gordon's Reinforcements

Duke of Gordon

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	**Low**	**High Nobility**	**Low**	**Moderate**

Abilities
None

Scottish Heritor Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal, 10 pikemen & 19 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Mixed length Pike or Matchlock Musket, Sword & Bandoleer

Note
Become disordered if the unit doesn't redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Scottish Militia Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Powder Flask

Note
Quickly become disordered after movement & combat, if ranks are not redressed, can't Caracole by file

Marquis of Atholl's Reinforcements

Marquis of Atholl

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	Average	High Nobility	Average	Moderate

Abilities

None

Captain 'Suddie' McKenzie

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	High	Lower Nobility	Average	Average

Abilities

Can scout, raise guides & move quickly without a guide

Scottish Dragoon Horse

Troop Command

Captain, two drummers & two hautboys

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal & 24 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour

None

Trooper Equipment

Two Pistols, long carbine, sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount and fight as infantry.

Scottish Militia Horse

Troop Command

Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure

Officer, corporal & 16 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour

None

Trooper Equipment

Two pistols, carbine, sword & Powder Flask

Note

Quickly become disordered after movement & combat, if ranks are not redressed, can't Caracole by file

Scottish Regular Foot

Company Command

Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 29 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Matchlock Musket, Sword, Bayonet & Bandoleer

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square.

Scottish Heritor Foot

Company Command

Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 10 pikemen & 19 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Mixed length Pike or Matchlock Musket, Sword & Bandoleer

Note

Become disordered if the unit doesn't redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Scottish Militia Ordnance

Brigade Command

Master gunner (pointing officer)

4 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure

One gunners & matross (plus 8 untrained soldiers)

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour

None

Gunner Equipment

Swords, piece between 1-pdr & 3-pdr

Note

The rate of fire will be reduced and limited to 30 shots. Cannot be used as separate pieces.

Earl of Dumbarton's Scottish Army

Lord Claverhouse

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	High	Middle Nobility	Low	High

Abilities

Can move without a guide

Scottish Lifeguard Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

2 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 23 gentlemen troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Buff Coat

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically

Scottish Militia Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Powder Flask

Note
Quickly become disordered after movement & combat, if ranks are not redressed, can't Caracole by file

Scottish Regular Foot

Company Command
Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal, 29 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Matchlock Musket, Sword, Bayonet & Bandoleer

Note
Rapid reform and can form into square.

Scottish Heritor Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal, 10 pikemen & 19 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Mixed length Pike or Matchlock Musket, Sword & Bandoleer

Note
Become disordered if the unit doesn't redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Earl of Dumbarton

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	Average	High Nobility	Average	Moderate

Abilities

None

Major William Ross

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Good	High	Middle Nobility	Average	High

Abilities

Able to move without the need for a guide

Scottish Regular Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers (or 19 troopers)

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Back & breastplate with pot helmet

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount to fight or take part in a siege as a Grenadier.

Scottish Dragoon Horse

Troop Command
Captain, two drummers & two hautboys

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal & 24 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two Pistols, long carbine, sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount and fight as infantry.

Scottish Grenadier Foot

Company Command
Captain & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal & 19 grenadiers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Firelock Musket, Grenade, Hatchet, Sword, Bayonet & Bandoleer

Note
Rapid reform and can form into square.

Scottish Light Ordnance

Brigade Command
Lieutenant, two master gunners & battery master

8 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure
Gunner and under-gunner (plus 4 untrained soldiers)

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour
None

Gunner Equipment
Half-pike & swords, piece 3-pdr

Note
The rate of fire would be reduced if under attack or receiving casualties. Can be deployed as individual pieces.

Lord Churchill's Brigade & Militia

Colonel Kirke

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Veteran	Lower Nobility	Average	High

Abilities

Able to move without a guide

Lord John Churchill

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Veteran	Middle Nobility	Average	Average

Abilities

Can rally Government Foot

English Regular Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers
(or 19 troopers)

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Back & breastplate with pot helmet

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword &
Cartridge Box

Note

Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount to fight or take part in a siege as a Grenadier.

English Dragoon Horse

Troop Command
Captain, two drummers & two hautboys

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer or Sergeant, corporal &
16 troopers (or 19 troopers)

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, long carbine, sword,
bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount and fight as infantry.

English Regular Foot (Larger)

Company Command
Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal,
10 pikemen & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
Pike back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment
16ft Pike & sword or Matchlock
Musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square. Douglas's companies have better control due to the extra lieutenant and sergeant.

English Regular Foot (Smaller)

Company Command
Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal,
4 pikemen & 11 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
Pike back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment
16ft Pike & sword or Matchlock
Musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square.

English Grenadier Foot

Company Command
Captain, 2 sergeants & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal &
15 grenadiers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Firelock Musket, Grenade, hatchet,
sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square.

English Light Ordnance

Brigade Command
Master Gunner or Pointing Officer

8 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure
Gunner & labourer
(plus 4 untrained soldiers)

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour
None

Gunner Equipment
Half-pike & swords, Piece
between 1-pdr & 3-pdr

Note

The rate of fire would be reduced if under attack or receiving casualties. If deployed as outside the brigade, the fire will be uncoordinated.

English Militia Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword &
Powder Flask

Note

Quickly become disordered after movement & combat, if ranks are not redressed, can't Caracole by file

English Militia Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 Drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal,
10 pikemen & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Mixed Length Pike or Matchlock
Musket & Bandoleer

Note

Become disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Earl of Feversham's Horse

Earl of Feversham

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	Veteran	High Nobility	High	Moderate

Abilities
None

Brigadier Villiers

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	High	Middle Nobility	Average	High

Abilities
None

Brigadier Orby

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	High	Middle Nobility	Average	Low

Abilities
None

Colonel Oglethorpe

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Veteran	Lower Nobility	Average	High

Abilities
Able to move quickly without a guide

Colonel Compton

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	High	Lower Nobility	High	High

Abilities
None

English Lifeguard Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

2 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 23 gentlemen troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Buff Coat

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically

English Horse Grenadiers

Troop Command
Captain & Drummer

1 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Sergeant, corporal & 20 horse grenadiers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, sword, long carbine, grenades, bayonet, hatchet & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount and fight as dragoons or grenadiers

English Regular Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 16 troopers (or 19 troopers)

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Back & breastplate with pot helmet

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount to fight or take part in a siege as a Grenadier.

English Dragoon Horse

Troop Command
Captain, two drummers & two hautboys

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer or Sergeant, corporal & 16 troopers (or 19 troopers)

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, long carbine, sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note
Able to move and reform automatically. Can dismount and fight as infantry.

English Independent Horse

Troop Command
Captain & two trumpeters

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 19 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None, other than the odd buff coat

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & Powder Flask

Note
Quickly become disordered after movement, cannot dismount to fight.

Earl of Feversham's Foot & Artillery

Colonel Sackville

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	**Veteran**	**Middle Nobility**	**High**	**High**

Abilities

Able to move without a guide

Duke of Grafton

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	**Low**	**Royalty**	**Low**	**High**

Abilities

None

English Guard Foot

Company Command

Captain, sergeant & three drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 12 pikemen & 19 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

Pike back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment

16ft Pike & sword or Firelock Musket, sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square

English Guard Grenadiers

Company Command

Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal & 15 grenadiers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Firelock Musket, Grenades, sword, hatchet, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square

English Regular Foot (Larger)

Company Command

Captain, sergeant & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 10 pikemen & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

Pike back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment

16ft Pike & sword or Matchlock Musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square. Douglas's companies have better control due to the extra lieutenant and sergeant.

English Grenadier Foot

Company Command

Captain, 2 sergeants & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal & 15 grenadiers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Firelock Musket, Grenade, hatchet, sword, bayonet & Cartridge Box

Note

Rapid reform and can form into square.

English Pioneer Foot

Company Command

Captain & drummers

1 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Sergeant, corporal & 20 pioneers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Sword & either a spade, shovel or pick

Note

No Infantry Training

English Field Ordnance

Brigade Command

Master Gunner or Pointing Officer

10 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure

Two Gunners & Two Labourers (plus 8 untrained soldiers)

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour

None

Gunner Equipment

Half-pike & swords, Piece between 4-pdr & 6-pdr

Note

The rate of fire would be reduced if under attack or receiving casualties. If deployed as outside the brigade, the fire will be uncoordinated.

English Siege Ordnance

Brigade Command

Master Gunner or Pointing Officer

6 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure

Two gunners & two labourers (plus 12 untrained soldiers)

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour

None

Gunner Equipment

Half-pike & swords, piece between 9-pdr & 12-pdr

Note

The rate of fire would be reduced if under attack or receiving casualties. If deployed as outside the brigade, the fire will be uncoordinated. Cannot move without being limbered.

Earl of Argyll's Army

Earl of Argyll

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Poor	High	High Nobility	Average	Average

Abilities

Can move without a guide while in Argyllshire

Sir John Cochrane

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Low	Middle Nobility	High	High

Abilities

Can raise Covenanter Mobs & rally any Veteran or Lowland units

Laird of Auchinbreck

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Good	Middle Nobility	High	Average

Abilities

Able to move without a guide

Colonel Ayloffe

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	None	Infamous Whig	Low	Average

Abilities

None

Captain Charles Campbell

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	None	High Nobility	High	Average

Abilities

Can scout, recruit guides & move without a guide

Major Fullerton

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Veteran	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Can rally any Veteran unit

Whig Retainer Horse

Troop Command
Captain & trumpeter

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 14 troopers

Open Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Target (small shield)

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, carbine, sword & flask

Note

Become disordered quickly, can dismount and fight as dragoons, but not in extended order or any complex drills.

Sir Patrick Hume

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Low	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Able to move without a guide & rally any Lowland or Veteran unit

Whig Lowland Foot

Company Command
Captain & Drummer

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 29 clansmen

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control due experienced NCOs.

Whig Veteran Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal, 29 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Double-barrelled firelock, pistol, sword, halberd & Bandoleer

Note

They can switch from a musket volley to repelling cavalry very quickly and perform all the drills including the square. Reform automatically and have a high rate of fire.

Whig Highland Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 29 clansmen

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control that other Highlanders.

Whig Laird Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal & 29 clansmen

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Pistol, Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note

Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control that other Highlanders.

Colonel Rumbold's Brigade

Colonel Rumbold

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**High**	**Infamous Whig**	**High**	**Average**

Abilities
Can commander the Army

Major Henderson

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	**Veteran**	**Commoner**	**High**	**High**

Abilities
Can Scout ahead of the Army

Sir Patrick Hume

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	**Low**	**Commoner**	**High**	**High**

Abilities
Able to move without a guide & rally any Lowland or Veteran unit

Whig Dragoon Horse

Troop Command
Captain & trumpeter

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 15 troopers

Open Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, double-barrelled carbine, sword & Bandoleer

Note
Become disordered quickly, can dismount and fight as dragoons, but not in extended order or any complex drills.

Whig Lowland Foot

Company Command
Captain & Drummer

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 29 clansmen

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note
Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control due experienced NCOs.

Whig Veteran Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal, 29 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Double-barrelled firelock, pistol, sword, halberd & Bandoleer

Note
They can switch from a musket volley to repelling cavalry very quickly and perform all the drills including the square. Reform automatically and have a high rate of fire.

Eilean Dearg Garrison

Laird of Lapness

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**Low**	**Middle Nobility**	**Average**	**Poor**

Abilities
Able to move without a guide

Whig Naval Ordnance

Brigade Command
Ships Captain

4 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure
Master gunner & 8 navy crew

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour
None

Gunner Equipment
Pistol, Sword, piece between 4-pdr & 6-pdr

Note
The rate of fire would be reduced if under attack or receiving casualties. Can't be moved & must be in fixed location.

Whig Highland Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 29 clansmen

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note
Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control that other Highlanders.

Whig Laird Foot

Company Command
Captain & Piper

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal & 29 clansmen

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
The odd small shield

Soldier Equipment
Pistol, Firelock musket, sword & Bandoleer

Note
Able to do the basics but will become disordered if the unit wheels. Better control that other Highlanders.

Duke of Monmouth's Landing
(First two days)

Duke of Monmouth

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	**Veteran**	**Royalty**	**Average**	**High**

Abilities

Will lead from the front, can recruit Irregulars in every town & can rally any Whig unit

Colonel Venner

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	**Average**	**Whig Hero**	**Very Low**	**Low**

Abilities

None

Whig Reformado Foot

Company Command
Captain & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, sergeant, corporal, 14 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Double-barrelled firelock, quad-barrelled pistol, sword & Bandoleer

Note

They can switch from a musket volley to repelling cavalry very quickly and perform all the drills including the square. Reform automatically with a high rate of fire.

Whig Regular Foot

Company Command
Captain & two drummers

3 or 4 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer or sergeant, corporal, 16 pikemen & 31 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
Pike odd back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment
16ft Pike & sword or Matchlock Musket or Firelock Musket & Bandoleer (odd Sword)

Note

Become disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Whig Irregular Foot

Company Command
Captain

2 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Corporal & 47 soldiers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Pole weapon or club or sword

Note

**Become disordered if the unit moves or is attacked.
Cannot perform advanced drill.**

Colonel Fletcher

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	**High**	**Lower Nobility**	**Low**	**Average**

Abilities

Can rally any Whig Horse unit

Colonel Brandt, Count Horne

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	**Veteran**	**Lower Nobility**	**High**	**High**

Abilities

Can rally any Whig Foot unit & give support to Monmouth in the Council of War

Major Manley

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	**Average**	**Commoner**	**Average**	**High**

Abilities

Can slip through enemy lines & move without a guide

Captain Anton Buyse

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**Veteran**	**Commoner**	**High**	**High**

Abilities

Trained Gunner & Engineer

Whig Regular Horse

Troop Command
Captain & trumpeter

3 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 17 troopers

Close Order Basing

Trooper Armour
Back & breastplate

Trooper Equipment
Two quad-barrelled pistols, double-barrelled carbine, sword & flask

Note

**Quickly become disordered after movement or combat.
Can't Caracole by file.**

Whig Light Ordnance

Brigade Command
Artillery Captain

4 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure
Pointing officer, gunner & 3 trained labourers

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour
None

Gunner Equipment
Sword, piece between 1-pdr & 3-pdr

Note

High rate of fire and pieces can be deployed independently.

Duke of Monmouth's Cavalry

Duke of Monmouth

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Veteran	Royalty	Average	High

Abilities

Will lead from the front, can recruit Irregulars in every town & can rally any Whig unit

Lord Grey

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	None	Middle Nobility	High	Average

Abilities

Can rally any Whig Horse unit & give support to Monmouth in the Council of War

Colonel Fletcher

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	High	Lower Nobility	Low	Average

Abilities

Can rally any Whig Horse unit

Major Manley

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Average	Commoner	Average	High

Abilities

Can slip through enemy lines & move without a guide

Colonel Speke

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	None	Lower Nobility	Low	High

Abilities

Can recruit irregular horse in every town in Somerset & scout ahead of the army

Captain Sir John Kidd

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Average	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Can scout, recruit guides, move without a guide & recruit Irregulars in North Somerset

Captain Jones

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Veteran	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Can move without a guide & rally any Whig Horse unit

Whig Lifeguard Horse

Troop Command	**Close Order Basing**
Captain & two trumpeters	Trooper Armour **Pot helmet, back & breastplate**
3 Squads per Troop	
Squad Structure **Officer, corporal & 17 troopers**	Trooper Equipment **Two quad-barrelled pistols, double-barrelled carbine, sword & flask**

Note

Able to move and reform quickly, can perform the caracole and other exercises.

Whig Regular Horse

Troop Command	**Close Order Basing**
Captain & trumpeter	Trooper Armour **Back & breastplate**
3 Squads per Troop	
Squad Structure **Officer, corporal & 17 troopers**	Trooper Equipment **Two quad-barrelled pistols, double-barrelled carbine, sword & flask**

Note

Quickly become disordered after movement or combat.
Can't Caracole by file.

Whig Volunteer Horse

Troop Command	**Close Order Basing**
Captain & trumpeter	Trooper Armour **None**
3 Squads per Troop	
Squad Structure **Officer, corporal & 17 troopers**	Trooper Equipment **Two pistols, carbine, sword & flask**

Note

Quickly become disordered after movement or combat.
Can't Caracole by file.

Whig Irregular Horse

Troop Command	**Open Order Basing**
Captain & trumpeter	Trooper Armour **None**
2 Squads per Troop	
Squad Structure **Officer, corporal & 29 troopers**	Trooper Equipment **Two pistols, sword & flask**

Note

Become disordered after movement or combat.
Can't perform the Caracole. Good Scouts.

Duke of Monmouth's Infantry

Colonel Brandt, Count Horne

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Veteran	Lower Nobility	High	High

Abilities

Can rally any Whig Foot unit & give support to Monmouth in the Council of War

Colonel Venner

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	Average	Whig Hero	Very Low	Low

Abilities

None

Major Wade

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Average	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Natural soldier, can rally any Whig Foot unit & move without a guide

Colonel Holmes

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	High	Whig Hero	High	High

Abilities

Leads from the front & can rally any Whig Foot

Colonel Bovett

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Average	Whig Hero	High	High

Abilities

Can recruit irregular companies in Somerset & move without a guide

Colonel Matthews

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
High	High	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Friend of Monmouth & support him in Council of War, can Scout

Colonel Foulkes

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Average	Veteran	Commoner	High	High

Abilities

Can train soldiers 15% faster that other officers

Whig Regular Foot

Company Command

Captain & two drummers

3 or 4 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 16 pikemen & 31 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

Pike odd back & breastplate, others none

Soldier Equipment

16ft Pike & sword or Matchlock Musket or Firelock Musket & Bandoleer (odd Sword)

Note

Become disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Whig Volunteer Foot

Company Command

Captain & two drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer or sergeant, corporal, 10 pikemen & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Mixed Pike Lengths & sword or Mixed Matchlock or Firelock Musket & Bandoleer (odd Sword)

Note

Become disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way.

Whig Irregular Foot

Company Command

Captain

2 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Corporal & 47 soldiers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Pole weapon or club or sword

Note

Become disordered if the unit moves or is attacked. Cannot perform advanced drill.

Whig Scythe Foot

Company Command

Captain, Sergeant & 2 drummers

3 Squads per Company

Squad Structure

Officer, corporal, 10 polearm & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour

None

Soldier Equipment

Scythe or Firelock Musket & Bandoleer (odd Sword)

Note

Become disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Cannot form squares or fire in the French way but can Form in the 'Street Fighting Way'

Duke of Monmouth's Artillery

Captain Anton Buyse

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**Veteran**	**Commoner**	**High**	**High**

Abilities
Trained Gunner & Engineer

Whig Artillery Guard

Company Command
Captain, Sergeant & Drummer

2 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal, 12 polearm & 23 musketeers

Close Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Scythe or Firelock Musket & Bandoleer

Note
May disordered if the unit does not redress ranks. Can form company square & the 'Street Fighting Way'

Whig Light Ordnance

Brigade Command
Artillery Captain

4 Pieces per Brigade

Piece Structure
Pointing officer, gunner & 3 trained labourers

Close Order Basing

Gunner Armour
None

Gunner Equipment
Sword, piece between 1-pdr & 3-pdr

Note
High rate of fire and pieces can be deployed independently.

Duke of Monmouth's Irregulars

Earl of Macclesfeild

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**Veteran**	**Lower Nobility**	**High**	**High**

Abilities
Can call out the Cheshire Mob & move without a guide

Colonel Danvers

Cunning	Experience	Birth	Integrity	Bravery
Low	**Average**	**Commoner**	**Low**	**Low**

Abilities
Can call out the London Country Mob

Whig Irregular Horse

Troop Command
Captain & trumpeter

2 Squads per Troop

Squad Structure
Officer, corporal & 29 troopers

Open Order Basing

Trooper Armour
None

Trooper Equipment
Two pistols, sword & flask

Note
Become disordered after movement or combat. Can't perform the Caracole. Good Scouts.

Whig Irregular Foot

Company Command
Captain

2 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Corporal & 47 soldiers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Pole weapon or club or sword

Note
Become disordered if the unit moves or is attacked. Cannot perform advanced drill.

Whig Clubman Band

Company Command
Captain

2 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Corporal & 47 soldiers

Open Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Pole weapon, club or a sword (odd Matchlock Musket)

Note
Will become disordered if the unit moves to fast, limited military discipline.

Whig Country Mob

Company Command
None

1 Squads per Company

Squad Structure
Ringleader & 99 mob members

Loose Order Basing

Soldier Armour
None

Soldier Equipment
Pole weapon, club or a sword (odd Matchlock Musket)

Note
Will become disordered if the unit moves, no military discipline

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